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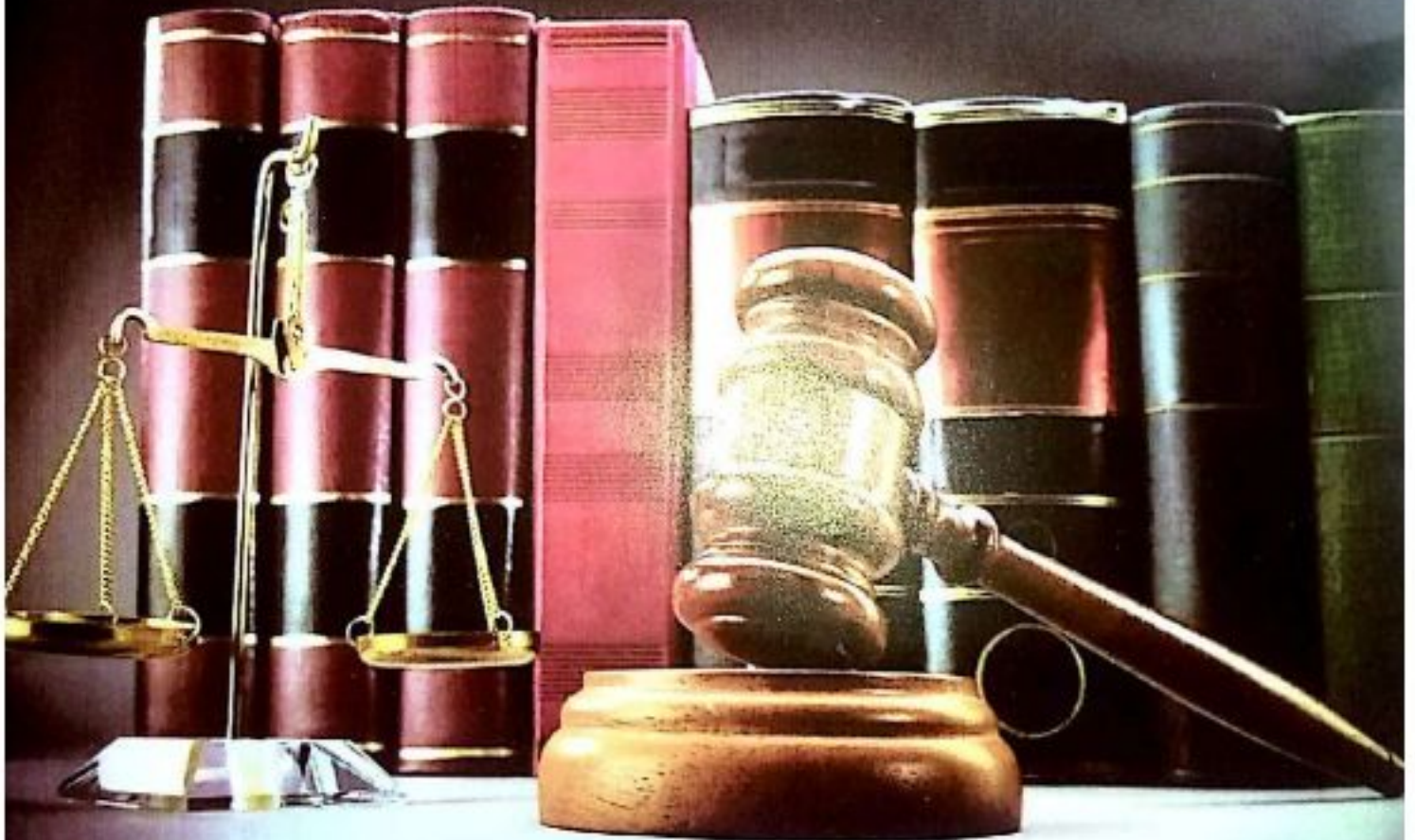




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# Emerging Geopolitical Scenario

An opportunity that must not go wasted

**T**he past month has witnessed dramatic changes in the regional geopolitics of South Asia. A vicious standoff between Chinese and Indian militaries at the Galwan Valley in Ladakh region, the Lion-Dragon agreement between China and Iran, Nepal's alienation from its erstwhile 'patron' India, and a looming thaw in Pakistan-Bangladesh relations, are but some indications of these changes which also suggest that India's once-overwhelming influence on the region is now in decadence. The fluid situation in the region is offering many possibilities that Pakistani policymakers must be proactive to capitalize on.

In the brouhaha of many seminal events in this part of the world last month, the biggest story broke on July 14 when Iran announced to shunt India out of a high-profile, big-ticket, much-touted rail line project from the Chabahar port to Zahedan. Citing an inordinate delay from the Indian side despite repeated requests, Iran has announced to execute the project on its own. Making this decision a tangible reality, Iranian Transport Minister, Mohammad Eslami, has inaugurated the 628km-long project that will be completed by March 2022.

However, this is not a decision to be seen in isolation; many critics believe that the decisive factor behind it has been the China-Iran strategic partnership agreement, being touted as Lion-Dragon Deal. The deal would make way for about \$400 billion worth of Chinese investments into Iran's key sectors, such as energy and infrastructure, over the next 25 years. In the strategic realm, it talks about deepening military cooperation, with joint training and exercises, joint research and weapons development, and intelligence sharing. In return, Iran would provide regular and "heavily discounted" supply of oil to China for 25 years. The deal not only provides China energy security for the next quarter a century, it also gives some breathing space to Iran that has been under the crushing US sanctions, especially after President Trump withdrew from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), also known as Iran Nuclear Deal, which was signed in 2015 during Obama administration.

After humbling India on the Line of Actual Control, it seems China has now decided to squeeze its belligerent neighbour financially and strategically. Exhorted by China with a massive investment as mentioned above, Iran has dealt a huge strategic blow to India as the latter's plans to get access to Central Asia and beyond through Chabahar port seem running awry. It is an open secret that India has flexed—though unsuccessfully—its muscles against China, on American prodding. It has tried to cash in on the growing US-China tussle which seems aggravating with every passing day—the closure of Chinese consulate in Houston and a tit-for-tat move by China to close 5 US consulates on its soil indicate that tensions are flaring, and they won't die down soon. But, this huge strategic mistake on the part of Indian government has opened new vistas of cooperation in this region. China is already an all-weather friend of Pakistan and the amity between them is known to everyone. Now Iran has entered this equation with a historic deal. Considering Pakistan shares borders with both these countries, it is a welcome development as Beijing's increasing foothold in Iran is crucial when it comes to containing Indian interference in Balochistan. While Pakistan enjoys cordial relations with China, this can be a good occasion to improve relations with Iran as well.

Although it is too early to give a conclusive picture of the future, it is indeed possible that a China-Iran-Pakistan triangle may emerge. This can be the turning into reality of Iqbal's dream who in his poem 'Jamiyat-e-Aqam-e-Mashriq (An Eastern League of Nations)' had professed: "If Tehran could become the Geneva of the Orient ... The fortunes of this hemisphere might turn."

Moreover, a possible thaw in frosty Pakistan-Bangladesh relationship is also in the offing—Chinese influence is yet again a major factor. *Bhorer Kagoj*, a prominent daily in Bangladesh recently reported that all Indian projects have slowed down since the re-election of PM Hasina in 2019 with Chinese infrastructure projects receiving more support from Dhaka. "Despite India's concern, Bangladesh has given the contract of building an airport terminal in Sylhet to a Chinese company. Indian High Commissioner Riva Ganguly Das tried for four months to get an appointment with the Prime Minister of Bangladesh but did not get it," the newspaper wrote. Moreover, PM Khan's recent telephonic conversation with his Bangladeshi counterpart, Sheikh Hasina, and meeting between Pakistan's High Commissioner in Dhaka and Bangladeshi foreign minister are indicative of a possible thaw in relations between the two countries.

The geopolitical calculus in Pakistan's immediate neighbourhood is clearly changing, and the foreign policy makers of our country must plan now to ensure we are comfortably placed to take political and economic advantage of the emerging scenario. To make most of regional developments, Pakistan will need some deft diplomacy. Regional integration can help us and our neighbours economically and politically if proper planning is done.

On the domestic front, the PTI government is going to complete its two years in office. Although it has been a journey of fewer successes amidst many huge challenges that still seem insurmountable, yet given the direction of his economic policies that have effected, inter alia, a record downfall in current account deficit, increasing exports, bullish trend in Pakistan Stock Exchange, and some other positive outcomes, hope is still alive that PM Khan will live up to his words of making a Naya Pakistan. Those at the helm of country's affairs need to be more proactive and vigilant.



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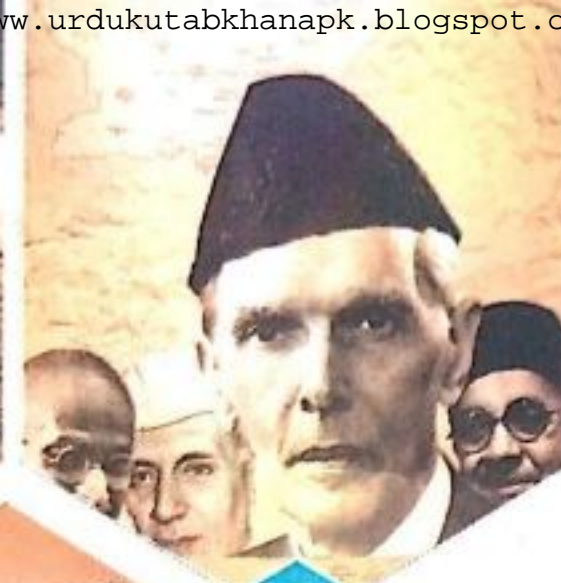
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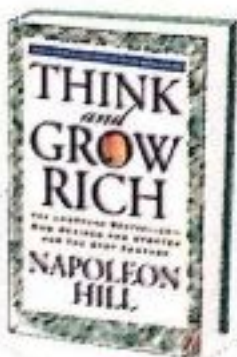
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## Two Years of PTI Government

The PTI government, under the leadership of Imran Khan, is going to complete its second year. But, there has hardly been any indication of a turnaround in the things that matter the most, and much of the promises made by PTI on the campaign trail never came true. Inflation is rising, peoples' sufferings are getting multiplied, education reforms are on an entirely different trajectory than promised, and so on. But that is not to say, of course, that all is bad. The government did indeed inherit a very broken-down economy, and its initial indecision made it much worse, but it did get control over the whole thing and the overall direction was fine. Its handling of the pandemic was good. And the way it helped businesses survive the worst of the lockdown, kept the jobs and situation from being worse. To be fair, two years is too soon to judge the performance for what is after all a five-year cycle. Howsoever his performance has been so far, PM Khan now knows what's working and what's not. And he has ample time to take care of all that is not.

Sajjad Shaukat  
Shangla

## Kashmir and Deafening Silence of OIC

Kashmir has been bearing the brutalities of Indian security forces. Thousands of Kashmiris laid their lives down for the achievement of their right, i.e. right to self-determination granted to them by the United Nations. Recently, thousands of stories of victimized Kashmiris have come to light. Besides putting lives of Kashmiris at risk, Indian security forces and government are destroying the homes of natives, committing vandalism, and giving domiciles of Kashmir to non-natives. According to a recent report on Kashmir, many journalists were arrested for speaking on Kashmiri struggles. The report said that in the first six months of 2020, the media continued to be at the receiving end of pressure, intimidation and harassment by authorities with several incidents involving the beating of journalists. Besides physical assault, a few Kashmir-based journalists were also booked under stringent charges and cases were filed against them. It is sad, however, to see how the Muslim Ummah is divided and is acting only on self-interest rather than standing by Kashmiris, who have suffered unbearable conditions. The OIC must put up a united front against blatant human rights violations in Indian-occupied Kashmir. A collective effort of Muslim countries could mitigate the grievances and sorrows of the oppressed Muslims of Kashmir. OIC must take unanimous action to resolve the Kashmir dispute.

Khawar Siddique  
Okara

## Letters to the Editor

For feedback and suggestions,  
please write to us at:

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## Open Tourism in Pakistan

After the outbreak of corona pandemic from Wuhan, China, last December, tourism industry across the world is on the verge of collapse. Pakistan also is not immune to the deleterious impact of Covid-19 on the tourism sector. Tourism in the country is almost dead at the moment, and no revival is likely in the near future. Hundreds of thousands of people whose bread and butter is attached with this sector are in dire financial straits as they find it extremely hard to make both ends meet. The government should look into the matter and announce to open up Pakistan for tourism, of course, with some SOPs. Although Prime Minister Imran Khan, in June, had announced the reopening of tourism industry, the decision still awaits implementation. These three to four months are important for the people associated with tourism. Otherwise more joblessness will occur at these places.

Atif Aslam Sheikh  
Wazirabad

## Budding Pakistan-Bangladesh Alliance

During the recent months, there has been a sharp decline in Indian ventures in Bangladesh. Allotting airport terminal contract, which was awarded to an Indian company, to a Chinese firm, refusing to set an appointment with Indian officials and labelling their immigrants as illegal, speaks volumes about the deteriorating bilateral relations. With huge Chinese investments, and diminishing role of India, which was once considered an irreplaceable partner of Bangladesh, has created some room for Pakistan, with the support of China, to create a new, and perhaps more powerful, regional bloc, offering insurmountable benefits to all stakeholders. Recent developments like Prime Minister Imran Khan's telephonic conversation with his Bangladeshi counterpart, Sheikh Hasina Wajed, and the meeting between the Pakistan's High Commissioner and Bangladesh's Foreign Minister allude to the possibility of a long-term relationship between the two countries. Expanding from pre-existing economic holds and constraints will aid both the developing economies as they branch out.

Muzaffar Khurshid  
Dir Lower



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Muhammad Ali

## 1. Mount Kailash (China)

The Mount Kailash is believed to be very sacred in 4 religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Bon. This holy mountain is situated near source of some of Asia's longest rivers, i.e. the Sutlej River, Karnali River, Indus River, and Brahmaputra River. With an elevation of 21778 feet, the Mount Kailash is also a popular mountain for mountaineering. The beauty of this mountain is unparalleled.

## 2. Tre Cime di Lavaredo (Italy)

The term Tre Cime di Lavaredo means Three Peaks of Lavaredo. These three peaks, which resemble defensive or battle walls, are: Cima Ovest or Western Peak, Cima Grande or Big Peak, and Cima Piccola or Little Peak. The highest of the three peaks, which are made of well-layered dolostones, is the Cima Grande, which has the elevation of 9839 feet.

## 3. Ama Dablam (Nepal)

This mountain is situated in the range of Himalayas of the eastern Nepal. Ama Dablam's primary peak is 22349 feet and the lower-eastern peak is 20243 feet. The name 'Ama Dablam' means Mother's Necklace. This beautiful mountain was climbed for the first time in the year 1961 by a team of mountaineers led by the legendary Edmund Hillary.

## 4. Kirkjufell (Iceland)

The Kirkjufell is a very beautiful mountain in Iceland. Its isolated position makes it one favourite place for photography for both seamen and tourists. The mountain is surrounded by many beaches and has one wonderful walking trail. This can also be a perfect place for those climbers who love challenges.

## 5. Licancabur (Bolivia/Chile)

The Licancabur is a composite volcano situated on the border between Chile and Bolivia. It has one prominent 19409-foot-high cone and a 1300-foot summit crater that contains the Licancabur Lake which is one of the world's highest lakes. The climate of the Licancabur is very sunny, dry and cold with a relatively high ultraviolet radiation levels. The Atacameño people consider it a holy mountain.

## 6. Matterhorn (Switzerland)

Near-symmetrical pyramidal in shape, the Matterhorn Mountain has an elevation of 14,692 feet. It is in the list of highest summits in Europe and the Alps. Often called the "Mountain of Mountains," The Matterhorn has become one iconic and famous emblem of Swiss Alps and of the other Alps. It is actually an isolated mountain, and its position on main Alpine's watershed effects rapid weather changes.

## 7. Table Mountain (South Africa)

Known for its beauty, the Table Mountain is one flat-topped mountain and it forms one prominent landmark that overlooks the beautiful Cape Town. The elevation of the Table Mountain is 3,558 feet. It is an attraction for tourists who come from different parts of the world to see this beautiful mountain. Mountain usually remains covered with clouds which makes the view really beautiful.

## 8. Zhangjiajie (Hunan, China)

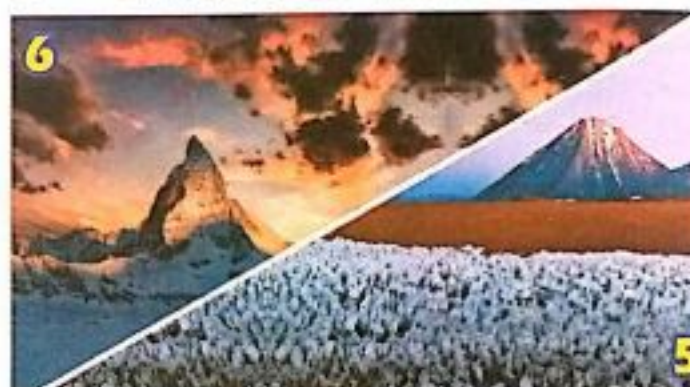
Zhangjiajie is located in northwest part of Hunan Province, China. It was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1992. It is famous for its precarious peaks, limpid streams, dense forests, and large karst caves. Zhangjiajie was thrust into foreign travellers' eyes after the movie Avatar. The Hallelujah Mountains in Avatar were inspired by Heavenly Pillar in Zhangjiajie National Forest Park.

## 9. Cerro Torre (Chile and Argentina)

Situated between Chile and Argentina, the Cerro Torre is the highest among the chain of four mountains. It has an elevation of 10262 feet. Owing to its picturesque natural beauty, this mountain was used as a location in the popular movie, "Scream of Stone" in the year 1991. It was first ascended by Cesare Maestri in the year 1959.

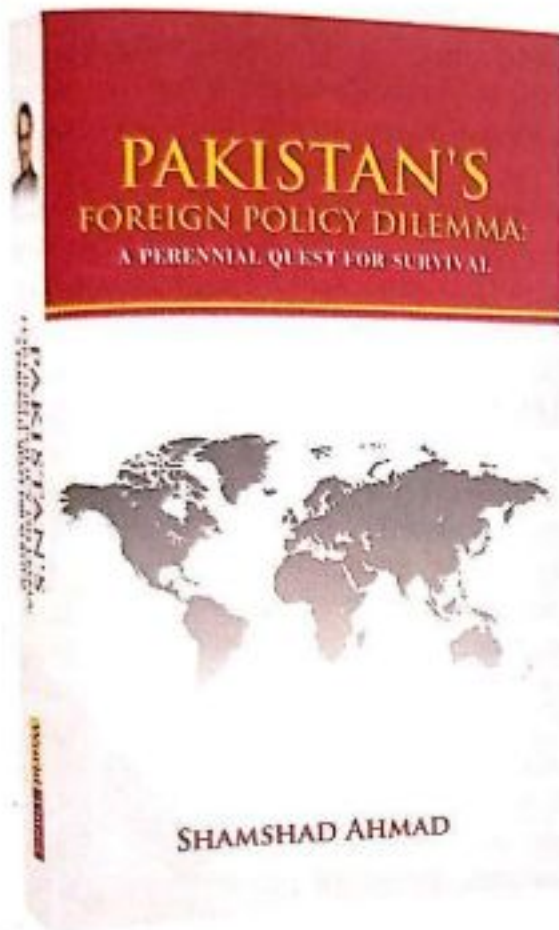
## 10. Mount Fuji (Japan)

Standing at 12389 feet, Mount Fuji, Japan's highest mountain, is worshipped by the people of Japan as the sacred mountain because of its perfectly-shaped volcano—It is actually an active volcanic mountain, which erupted in the year 1707. It is very popular among the common people and artists from different parts of the world.





JAHANGIR'S  
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PUBLICATIONS



## PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY DILEMMA: A PERENNIAL QUEST FOR SURVIVAL

Shamshad Ahmad's book stands out as a thorough and stimulating study of Pakistan's foreign policy that combines a diplomat's experience with academic discourse. It is not a chronology of major developments in Pakistan's interaction with the rest of the world.

**Dr Hasan Askari Rizvi; PhD (U. Penn.)**  
Professor Emeritus (PU, Lahore)  
Former Caretaker Chief Minister Punjab

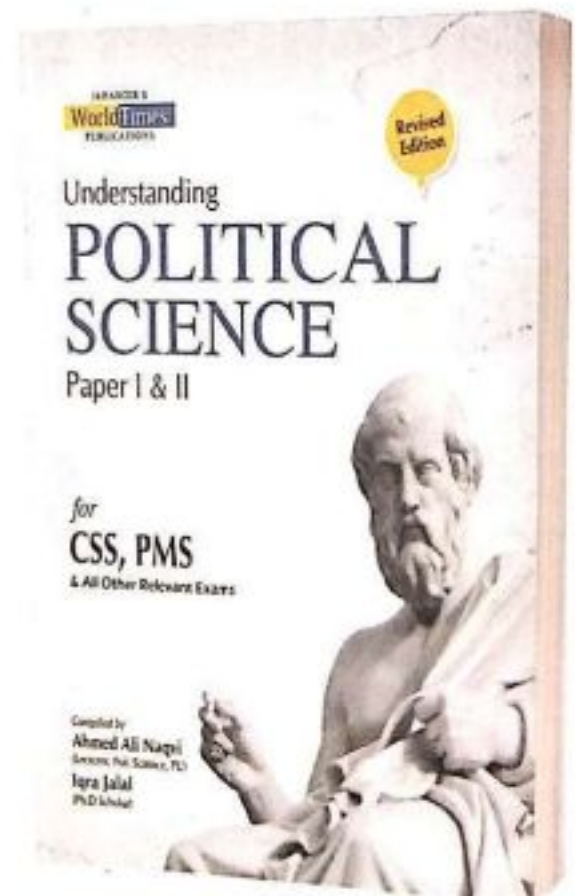
"Pakistan's Foreign Policy Dilemma: A Perennial Quest for Survival" offers a comprehensive overview drawing upon the author's vast experience and insights acquired as a distinguished and well-respected Pakistani diplomat.

**Riaz Mohammad Khan**  
Former Foreign Secretary

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### How to Mirror the Racial Injustice and Insanity against Mankind?

There is much evil and less goodness in the 21<sup>st</sup>-century global affairs—amassed collection of unthinkable junk history.

Flamboyant expressions of besieged mankind that defies ignorance are hallmarks of modern civilized people. There are seeds of unimaginable and destructive Western cultural absolutism that could destroy the sense of time and rational consciousness of living history. Violations of human rights, colour prejudice and indigenous killings in North America, social and moral injustice and continuous warfare; all echo degradation of human values and soul, exhibit intellectual discard, universal unhappiness, horrors, societal chaos and socioeconomic miseries of innumerable multitudes. The politically wise and elected failed to foresee the formidable challenges coming from the 99 percent oppressed mankind across from global frontiers. Most political leaders would claim to uphold the human instinct—at least to win the next ballot box—be it America and elsewhere. But where false proclamations go unnoticed in a progressive societal context, human sufferings, pains, socioeconomic devastation cannot be assumed to be the strategies of kindness in the struggle for sustainable political change and systematic reformation of terror and injustice. We are witnessing that human tragedy across Western Europe, on North America's streets and elsewhere while human conscience is still intact. Politicians tend to opt

for convenient compromises, deforming political truth as transient and pliable. But truth is always ONE, not many, and this is what most contemporary leaders failed to comprehend. We the people of the globe must learn from living history, and think of navigational change or else it is a self-generated dehumanization curve—an evidence of a tragic human abnormality across all the functional domains, from thinking to actions. To safeguard our future, We the People of Global Conscience must evolve a compass of credibility to check those who are exercising political power and are entrusted with people's confidence for peace, societal harmony and workable conflict resolutions.

### The United Nations—a Lost Hope of the Mankind

The United Nations was supposed to safeguard the mankind from the 'scourge of war', but its Security Council—a progressive hope after the WW2—is, in effect, a debating club for time-killing exercises, and a manipulative global political powerhouse. There is nothing good coming out of the UNSC as a chief hub of global peace, security and conflict management. The eloquent speakers tend to march on people's passion for peace and harmony with artful sophistry and captivating eloquence of words without meaning and prompt action to protect the humanity.

## Perpetuated Insanity against Besieged Humanity

Racial injustice, Kashmir and Palestine  
—dark days ahead





There are gross violations of human rights, human freedom and justice and continued aggressive policies and practices to curb the truth, be it in Palestine-Israel, Kashmir, the Middle East, South America, police atrocities against black and indigenous people in North America; global media networks' present portrait of human degradation, historic injustice and socioeconomic vices as if political deception and prejudice were new things to political thinkers and rulers. How could we rethink to change the centuries-old dreadful human apparatus of brimstone, tormenting social inequalities and torture inflicted by the contemporary 'so-called' working democratic systems of political governance? The UN has no plan to safeguard the mankind from a Third World War.

### **Extreme Ideologies will Destroy Human Survival and Peacemaking**

Those who grab political power by extreme ideologies and hateful manipulation are men of political intrigue as they assume power through exploitation of fellow human beings and impose their absurdity on human consciousness that is striving for survival. **Truth is One**, and as unchanging as it was many centuries ago. Contrary to historic India under Mughal Empire, we are seeing in today's India a denial of human rights and freedoms and prolonged captivity of the people of Kashmir—a framework of extreme Hinduism ideology like the Nazi Germany against the occupied people. The masses of Kashmir seek their rights to freedom, not forced captivity.

What if they had the freedom to express their will, if they want freedom from India or want to join Pakistan? Historically, Kashmir was never a part of British Raj but rather it was a separate entity and its geography and socioeconomic lifelines



ran through Pakistan, not India. How strange for over fifty years, corrupt Pakistani politicians never thought of an international conference on Kashmir? Pakistanis are abhorrent to critical thinking and criticism for change. India, after confrontation with China, will look for escape from reality to confront Pakistan. It is not a domestic issue of India or Pakistan. Conscientious Indian thinkers and people of conscience oppose the RSS Hindutva strategy and are adamantly against these violations of human dignity and freedom.

Would America and Israel determine the future of the war-torn Middle East?

Some Arab leaders are collaborating with the United States and Israel

policy agenda to undermine the freedom and the future

of Palestine, be it the East

Jerusalem or the

proposed

annexation of

West Bank.

Israeli and

Palestinian both live

in disharmony and moral

and intellectual decadence.

Had they believed in Abraham

(AS), Moses (AS), Jesus (AS) and

Muhammad (PBUH), and their teachings

as Prophets of Allah Almighty—all trying to

unite mankind before God—they would have

reached a peace deal. PLO could never pursue a

movement of unity for moral and intellectual

leadership and Israeli's problem rests with right-wing

extreme leadership that is devoid of peace and human

equality. You have PM Netanyahu planning to annex the

West Bank of Palestine into Israeli territory; as if

Palestinians were not human beings but just digits and

numbers. It will violate the very principles of Two-State

solution. Palestinians and Israelis live in mutual

distrust and political animosity. One would

have hoped that thinking Israeli

politicians will safeguard their own

freedom and security and work out a

peaceful settlement between the two

nations. None of them live in peace and

harmony unless human rights, freedom

and justice are respected by all the parties.

**Politicians to Rethink about Global**

**Peace**

Despite many political and strategic odds,

one cannot blame the Western, industrialized

nations for ignorance, human prejudice and

socioeconomic disparities. Why nobody else

challenged the racial inequality and moral

**"The world is**

**a dangerous place to live, not because of the people who are evil, but because of the people who don't do anything about it."**

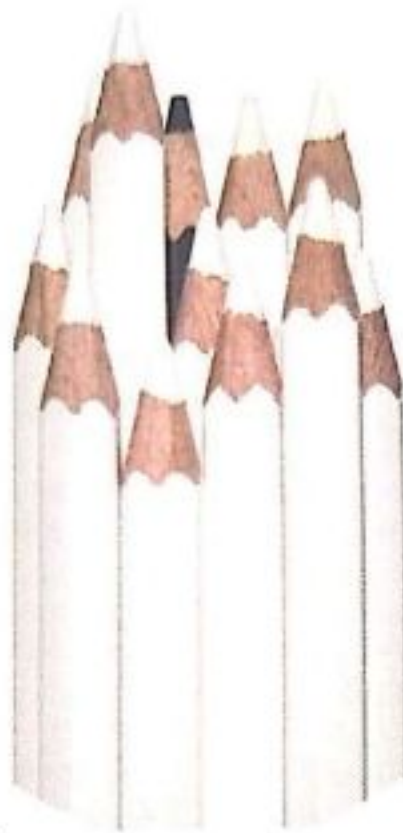
**—Albert Einstein**



injustice? What did the Arabs or Muslims contribute to the changing pattern of global political affairs? Global humanity is a mix of all cultures and civilizations. The Arab-Muslim world failed to produce any leader of vision and intellectual integrity to handle the changing and complex global affairs of the 21st century.

When Arab leaders had proactive vision, intellect and human values, they articulated a unique civilization that was tolerant of diversity and varied cultural ethnicities in Andalusia (Spain) and built upon the unity of faith to nurture peaceful coexistence and human development. If you list the historic scientific, educational and technological discoveries and contributions of Muslim scholars, they are countless. Do you know any other scientists or scholars whose works were used as textbooks for more than six centuries continuously in European medical schools? (Husain Abdullah Bu Ali Sina, also known as Ibne-Sina or Avicenna "Canon of Medicine" and "Book of Healing"), and Zakria Al-Razi (Russ), 10th-century scientists and scholars, to quote names. The Europeans changed their names to Avicenna and Russ so that nobody would recognize them as Muslim scholars. It is noted that Ibne-Sina alone discovered and authenticated 36 pharmaceutical formulas being used even today. Marai Rosa Menocal, in "The Ornament of the World: How

examples of tolerance. A thousand years ago on the Iberian Peninsula, an enlightened vision of Islam had created the most advanced culture in Europe ... In Cordoba, the library housed some 400,000 volumes at a time when the largest library in Latin Christendom probably held no more than 400."



Despite the sketchy illusions of freedom, democracy, human rights, liberty and justice, we are encroached, stuffed and at terrible risk of annihilation more accidental and by error of judgement than planned scheme of things by Man against Man. Often, the extreme Western political propaganda enflames hatred against indigenous peoples and the people of colour, Islam and blames Muslims as being "terrorists". The raging wars in Syria, Yemen and Afghanistan are the net outcome of perpetuated ignorance, and lack of wisdom against a reality check. False propaganda, deception and prejudice are combined in a trajectory of plans to sell weapons and console the egoistic Arab leaders as allies of the Western military alliance. This political delusion is full of inherent inconsistencies. Gary Wills, a leading American scholar, explains the reality in his new book 'What the Qur'an Meant and Why It Matters':

"Our enemy in this war is far less localizable than it was in the World War 2 or the Cold War. Terror is a tool, not a country. Declaring a war on it is less like normal warfare, country versus country, there is No VE Day or VJ Day in such wars ... living with fear is corrosive ... the less we know about the reality of Islam, the more we will fight shadows and false emanations from our apprehension. Ignorance is the natural ally of fear. It is time for us to learn about the real Islam beginning with its source book—The Qur'an." ■

*Dr Mahboob A. Khawaja specializes in international affairs—global security, peace and conflict resolution with keen interest in Islamic-Western comparative cultures and civilizations. He is the author of several publications including the latest: One Humanity and the Remaking of Global Peace, Security and Conflict Resolution; Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany.*



Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain, 2003, explains: "The lessons of history, like the lessons of religion, sometime neglect



Aftab Abbasi

**I**srael's ruling coalition, led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, had announced July 1 as the date to begin moving forward with the plan to impose Tel Aviv's "sovereignty" over about a third of the West Bank, including settlements and the fertile Jordan Valley. This was all in line with US President

effective Israeli military control, there are many reasons actual annexation is a bad idea.

The main reason is that the West Bank is regarded by international organizations and most of the world as an occupied territory, and the Jewish settlements as illegal under the Geneva Convention. The move is also contrary to the fundamental rule affirmed

Donald Trump's so-called "Middle East Peace Plan," which envisages a demilitarised Palestinian state on a patchwork of disjointed parts of the Palestinian territories. The regime, however, failed to launch the scheme on the set date amid widening differences between Netanyahu and his coalition partner, minister for military affairs, Benny Gantz. Mr Gantz, who is due to take over as prime minister in November 2021 under the terms of the coalition deal, opposed the timing of the move by saying that it must wait until the coronavirus crisis has been contained.

There has also been scathing criticism of Israel's policies from around the globe as these are in clear contravention of international law and several UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on sovereignty of Palestine. Several countries, including some of Israel's staunch allies, have come out with public statements against the annexation.

The move has been delayed also due to lukewarm response from the United States as Israeli officials said the process would take place later this month in coordination with their American counterparts. In the words of Israeli cabinet minister Ofir Akunis, "Coordination with the American administration is not something that can be dismissed."

A look at the dynamics of the region suggests that though the settlements have been steadily expanded over many decades, and the Jordan Valley is under

many times by the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly that the acquisition of territory by war or force is inadmissible. The international community has prohibited annexation precisely because it incites wars, economic devastation, political instability, systematic human rights abuses and widespread human suffering.

Moreover, the United Nations has stated on many occasions that the 53-year-old Israeli occupation is the source of profound human rights violations against the Palestinian people. These violations include land confiscation, settler violence, discriminatory planning laws, the confiscation of natural resources, home demolitions, forcible population transfer, excessive use of force and torture, labour exploitation, extensive infringements of privacy rights, restrictions on the media and freedom of expression, the targeting of women activists and journalists, the detention of children, poisoning by exposure to toxic wastes, forced evictions and displacement, economic deprivation and extreme poverty, arbitrary detention, lack of freedom of movement, food insecurity, discriminatory law-enforcement and the imposition of a two-tier system of disparate political, legal, social, cultural and economic rights based on ethnicity and nationality. Palestinian and Israeli human rights defenders, who peacefully bring public

## Israel's Annexation of West Bank

An ill-conceived move that violates international law

As a fulfilment of the pledge he made during his election campaign, Benjamin Netanyahu, the incumbent Prime Minister of Israel, announced to kick-start the process to annex Jewish settlements and the Jordan Valley in the West Bank on July 1. However, as scathing global criticism of the project mounted, and widening differences between Netanyahu and his coalition partner Benny Gantz became more conspicuous, the Israeli premier backed down on the annexation plan. Moreover, US President Donald Trump, a staunch Israel supporter, has cooled his backing for the Israeli move amid what is believed to be troubles at home and fears that it might hurt the president's chances of re-election besides international pressure. That is why Netanyahu's office issued a statement on July 01 whereby it said that the prime minister would continue to discuss a possible West Bank annexation with the US administration.



## International Response

### 1. United Kingdom

In an op-ed in Israel's largest selling newspaper on July 01, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson called for any annexation plans to be scrapped. He wrote: "As a life-long friend, admirer and supporter of Israel, I am fearful that these proposals will fail in their objective of securing Israel's borders and will be contrary to Israel's own long-term interests ... Annexation would represent a violation of international law ... I profoundly hope that annexation does not go ahead. If it does, the UK will not recognise any changes to the 1967 lines, except those agreed between both parties."

### 2. France

France's foreign minister, Jean-Yves Le Drian, told the French parliament that "an annexation decision could not be left without consequences" and that Paris was "examining different options at a national level and also in coordination with our main

European partners."

### 3. Germany

The German parliament called on Israel not to go ahead with the annexation of parts of the West Bank, describing the move as being in contradiction with international law. Foreign Minister Heiko Maas said the Israeli plan threatened the stability of the entire Middle East. "Peace cannot be achieved by unilateral steps," he said.

### 4. Australia

In a rare criticism of Israel, Australia warned against "unilateral annexation or change in status of territory on the West Bank".

### 5. Jordan

Jordan has warned annexation could trigger a "massive conflict" and has not ruled out reviewing its 1994 peace treaty with Israel.

### 6. The Vatican

The Vatican has summoned the US and Israeli envoys over Israel's annexation plans. Cardinal Pietro Parolin, the Vatican's Secretary of

State and a top diplomat, expressed "the concern of the Holy See regarding possible unilateral actions that may further jeopardise the search for peace between Israelis and Palestinians, as well as the delicate situation in the Middle East".

### 7. Amnesty International

Amnesty International's deputy Middle East chief Saleh Hijazi said: "International law is crystal clear on this matter—annexation is unlawful," adding if Israel moves forward, it "points to the law of the jungle".

### 8. UN Human Rights Commissioner

UNHRC, Michelle Bachelet, has called Israel's annexation drive "illegal" and urged Israel to immediately halt its expansionist drive and instead concentrate on working for a possible inclusive and long-lasting Palestinian-Israeli peace plan.

attention to these violations, are slandered, criminalised or labelled as terrorists. Above all, the Israeli occupation has meant the denial of the right of Palestinian self-determination.

Israel holds that the Geneva Convention does not apply because there had been no Palestinian state in the West Bank, and because none of the settlers were "deported or transferred" to the territory, in the language of the Convention. Still, annexation move has been condemned as illegal by the United Nations and all major states, except for the United States. Last November, the Trump administration expressly declared that the United States considered the settlements not "inconsistent with international law," effectively throwing the administration's lot with Israeli nationalists. But while the Trump

administration would give annexation its blessing, Joe Biden has declared that he would reverse that position, if



elected president.

The annexation would render the West Bank into a patchwork of simmering, unstable Bantustans, forever threatening a new intifada. It

would further weaken Israel's support in the Democratic Party and among American youth. It may destabilize Jordan, a country where Palestinians form the majority, and it could strain Israel's new ties with Sunni Arab states.

It could also end whatever security cooperation still exists between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. The Palestinian president, Mahmoud Abbas, has declared that with the talk of annexation, he is "absolved" of all the agreements signed with Israel and the United States. And though this is not the first time he mooted a break, his tenure is nearing an end. His successor would most likely be more militant. And if the Palestinian Authority collapses altogether, whether in an eruption of violence or a nonviolent act of mass protest, Israel would be forced to confront the question of how to control a large



## What effect will annexation have?

In the West Bank, Palestinians are only subject to Israeli military rules and their own Palestinian laws. Observers say the annexation will largely impact the establishment of settlements and other Israeli construction in the area that has been a long-standing bone of contention between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Annexation would make it easier for individuals to engage in construction in the West Bank, that has required approval by Israel's defence ministry and the government prior to this because annexed territory would be considered a part of Israel by the Israeli government. Observers say that Israeli military control will continue, without any change.



population lacking the rights of citizens, an unsavoury, dangerous and costly task that no Israeli would like to reclaim.

No doubt, Netanyahu believes his reasons for annexation outweigh these dangers. Throughout his tenure as prime minister, he has expanded Jewish settlement in the West Bank, and the regions he would now annex, including the Jordan Valley, have become integral parts of Israel in all but name. There have been no negotiations for at least two years, and, in the eyes of Israeli conservatives, the two-state solution that has long been declared the goal is dead.

Having served longer than any prime minister in Israeli history, Mr

where Netanyahu thrives, annexation would cement for him the support of the Israeli right, and would cloak him with the mantle of a Jewish hero when he comes before the court in July to face corruption charges. The Israeli left opposes the annexation, but Netanyahu's erstwhile political challenger, Benny Gantz—is now allied with him—has just wanted to delay, not abandon, annexation.

President Trump has his own considerations. One of them is the evangelical right which for reasons of its own zealously supports Israeli expansion, and is a critical part of the president's re-election arithmetic. Trump would be most reluctant to buck this following by openly

And if Netanyahu really is thinking of his legacy, he should take seriously that Trump may not be president next year and he would be left holding a territorial claim nobody recognizes, not even Israel's closest and most important friend. While Mr Biden, a strong supporter of Israel, has said he would not reduce America's security support for Israel, breaking with Netanyahu over the West Bank could seriously diminish America's traditionally bipartisan support for Israel.

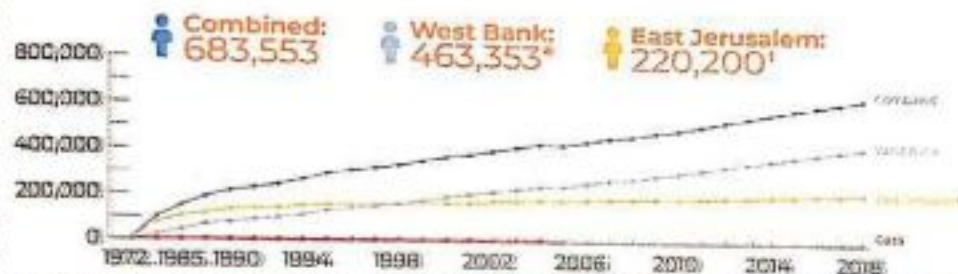
For what? For a symbolic gesture that would not make the settlements any more legitimate in international law than before, but would raise the threat of violence, undermine Israel's standing in the world, harm Israel's tentative alliances with Arab states, and further reduce the already thin chance of a peace settlement, which remains the only way to end this terrible conflict. ■

*The writer is a member of staff.*

## 1972 - 2018

### Israeli settler growth

The population of Israeli settlers in the West Bank and East Jerusalem is growing at a faster rate than the population of Israel. Roughly 10 percent of Israel's 6.8 million Jewish population live in these occupied Palestinian territories.



Netanyahu probably believes the expansion of the Jewish state in the biblical Hebrew lands of Judea and Samaria would become his legacy, and the new baseline for any future negotiations. And he is keenly aware that the Trump administration, which has basically granted him and the Israeli right-wing all their wishes—a United States Embassy in Jerusalem, an announcement that the United States will no longer regard Jewish settlements as illegal, and acceptance of Israeli control over the Golan Heights and expanded Jewish settlements on occupied territory—offers a particular opportunity to extend Israeli sovereignty with American approval.

On the more tawdry political level,

challenging Netanyahu, even if he was so inclined.

But Trump administration has its own interest in slowing Netanyahu down, and that's the peace plan Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner, produced in January. It's a one-sided plan that basically gives Israel all the lands Netanyahu wants to annex, and it was rejected by the Palestinians, who had no part in its creation. But the plan at least envisions an Israeli expansion in the context of a peace agreement in which the Palestinians receive a huge amount of financial aid and the promise of connection routes among their enclaves. A unilateral Israeli move would be an embarrassing repudiation of Trump's boasts that he has the key to a peace deal.

### How the move violates international law

Like all UN member states, Israel is obligated to adhere to UN Security Council resolutions. One of the most important is UNSC Resolution 242, unanimously adopted following the 1967 War between Israel and Egypt, Jordan and Syria. It emphasizes "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" and calls on Israel to withdraw its troops from territory occupied during the war.

If Israel annexes all or portions of the West Bank, it will compound its existing violation of international law and commit a double illegality. As it is, Israeli settlements are illegal under international law. According to the International Court of Justice — and echoed in longstanding US policy —, the West Bank is under "belligerent occupation." According to the Fourth Geneva Convention, an occupier may not transfer its population to territory under occupation. Annexation of the settlements would double their existing illegality because a country cannot lawfully annex territory acquired by war. Discussions of the legal status of annexation usually begin with a reference to the Stimson Doctrine, named after the 1932 proclamation by US Secretary of State Henry Stimson, according to which the United States refused to recognize Japan's forcible annexation of Manchuria. Most recently, the international community condemned Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, and this resulted in the imposition of sanctions on Russia by the US and the European Union.





# NO TO ROGUE ELECTORS!

US Supreme Court sides with popular vote

Shafqat Javed

**T**he US Supreme Court has four simple words for members of the Electoral College who fail to back the winner of their state's popular vote in presidential

elections: "We the people rule."

In a unanimous decision, the nine-member court has ruled that members of the Electoral College, the body that elects the US president, are not "free agents" and that states may penalize them for breaking their pledge. "The Constitution's text and the nation's history both support allowing a state to enforce an elector's pledge to support his party's nominee — and the state voters' choice — for president," Justice Elena Kagan wrote in a 33-page opinion on behalf of the court.

The decision came in a pair of

cases involving so-called "faithless electors," members of the Electoral College who choose someone other than the presidential candidate who carries their state's popular vote. Although "faithless electors" have never influenced the outcome of a US presidential election, the ruling restores a degree of certainty to the electoral system ahead of another contentious presidential vote in November this year.

Most states compel their presidential electors to take a pledge to support the winner of the statewide vote. Of these, 15 states have laws that fine or remove electors for breaking their promise.

**Background**

The US method of picking presidents is unique in the world. When Americans cast their ballots for a presidential candidate, they

On July 06, the US Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a state may require presidential electors to support the winner of its popular vote, and may punish or replace those who don't. Under the system set out in the US Constitution in the 18th century, a presidential election's winner is determined not by amassing a majority in the national popular vote, but by securing a majority of electoral votes allotted to the 50 US states and the District of Columbia. The justices unanimously rejected the idea that electors, who act on behalf of a state in the Electoral College vote that occurs weeks after voters go to the polls, can exercise discretion in the candidate they back. The decision has erased a potential complicating factor in the Electoral College as President Donald Trump seeks re-election on Nov. 3 against Democratic challenger Joe Biden. The court sided with Washington state and Colorado, which had imposed penalties on several "faithless electors"—so named because they defied pledges in 2016 to vote for the winner of their states' popular vote, Democrat Hillary Clinton. "It reflects a longstanding tradition in which electors are not free agents; they are to vote for the candidate whom the State's voters have chosen," the Court held.



are actually choosing members of the Electoral College, the 538-member body that meets later to formally elect the president. To become president, a candidate needs at least 270 electoral votes.

In November 2016, shortly after Donald Trump's victory but before the Electoral College voted, a group of Democratic presidential electors concocted a scheme to head off the real estate mogul's entry to the White House. With no Republican elector willing to jump ship and pick Hillary Clinton, Democratic electors Peter Chiafalo and Michael Baca figured the only way they could stop Trump was to persuade other electors to "write in" a compromise candidate such as former Secretary of State Colin Powell. Recruiting four fellow Democratic members of the Electoral College, they formed a group they called the "Hamilton Electors," claiming that American founding father Alexander Hamilton wanted electors to stop an "unqualified demagogue" from taking office. Not a single Republican elector flipped. But when Chiafalo and two fellow Democratic electors in Washington state went ahead and voted for Powell instead of Clinton, the winner of the statewide vote, state authorities fined each \$1,000. In Baca's case in Colorado, another state carried by Clinton, he was removed before he could cast his vote for another Republican candidate.

The Democratic activists then sued their states for disciplining them, setting off a legal chain reaction that ended up before the Supreme Court this year.

### **The Court has spoken**

The questions before the justices boiled down to this: Are electors allowed to vote their minds, or are they "proxies" for the popular will? And can states punish them if they go against the wishes of the voters? During oral arguments in May, lawyers for Chiafalo and Baca argued that while states have the power under the Constitution to appoint members of the Electoral College, they have the right to vote however they please. But lawyers for Washington state and Colorado said that the Constitution gives states the power to both appoint and remove the electors. What's more, they said, allowing electors to vote as they wish could lead to chaos in presidential elections.

The Supreme Court agreed. Kagan wrote that the US Constitution gives states "broad powers over electors and gives electors themselves no rights."

"Among the devices states have long used to achieve their object are pledge laws, designed to impress on electors their role as agents of others," she wrote, adding, "A state

follows in the same tradition if, like Washington, it chooses to sanction an elector for breaching his promise." When a state directs its electors that they can't vote against the wishes of the people, Kagan continued, that "direction accords with the Constitution — as well as with the trust of a nation that here, We the People rule."

### **Impact**

Without uniform commitment to prevent faithless electors, this decision won't fix much. With this decision, states should move quickly to adopt the Uniform Faithful Presidential Electors Act to categorically end the prospect of faithless electors. Currently, just 15 states have laws in place to cancel faithless votes. Put another way, 70% of the states would have no recourse to prevent a faithless elector this Fall unless they take quick action. Unless they do so, we can expect that a number of electors in those "free agent" states will consider going rogue.

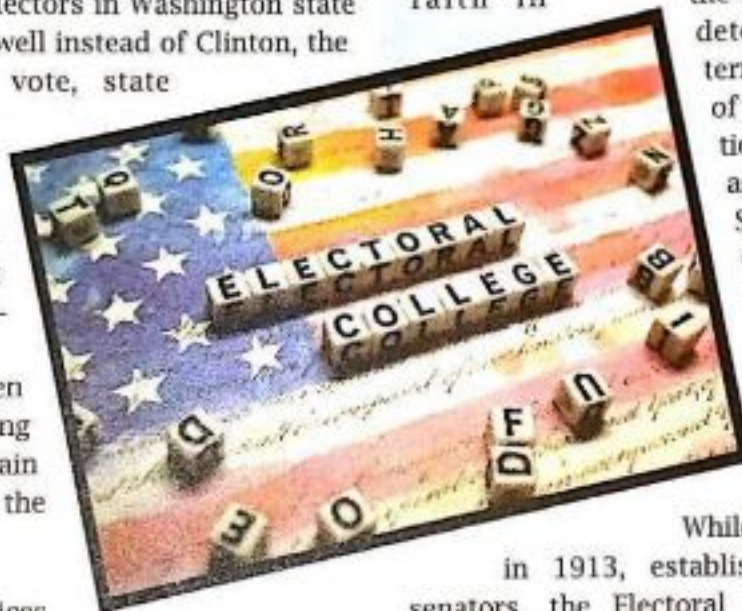
### **Scrapping the Electoral College?**

While the framers of the US Constitution back in 1789 had faith in the ideals of democracy and self-determination, they were also terrified of "mob rule" and the risk of populism. Within the Constitution, they built safeguards such as state legislatures choosing US Senators and the Electoral College which put presidential voting on a state by state rather than national basis. The idea in both cases was that serious choices would be in the hands of picked men and not the unwashed masses.

While the 17th Amendment, ratified in 1913, established the direct election of senators, the Electoral College has lingered as an antipopulist holdover. This had clear impacts in recent elections with both George W. Bush in 2000 and Donald Trump in 2016 gaining the presidency with Electoral College victories despite both having lost the popular vote in those elections.

At the time the Electoral College was created it satisfied a need for the young republic. With broader education in the voting population and campaigns targeting individual voters regarding issues, that need is no longer in place. All voters have the opportunity to become educated about the issues facing the country and the concept of having "picked men" making decisions for others is patently offensive.

It is time to consign the Electoral College to the dustbin of history and put the power in the hands of the people to select leaders based on the tradition of one person, one vote. It is time to adopt the direct election of presidents. ■





# INDIA-CHINA

## Territorial Dispute in Perspective



Mustansar Hussain Tasir

Amidst their historical territorial rivalry and divergent regional and global outlooks, the rapid rise of China and India on world stage has further added to their existing geopolitical and geo-economic contest. Various international observers see their quest for absolute dominance in their overlapping spheres of interest and influence in different perspectives. Keeping in view their historical background of a war, i.e. that of 1962, conflicts and intrusions as well as their being several times on the brink of war, the future relationship between the two old, distinct civilizations is more likely to remain strained. Their territorial disputes led them to a full-scale war in 1962, and the postwar era, too, has been marked with unremitting distrust despite the fact that both sides have achieved greater economic interdependence and their bilateral trade volume reached \$87.07 billion in 2018-19. Indian import from China was US\$70.32 billion in 2018-19 while Indian export to China was just US\$ 16.75 billion in the same period; thus, India's trade deficit was \$53.57 billion.



This piece is aimed at finding out whether the relationship between India and China, two rapidly-rising economies of Asia, will be able to explore some avenues of strategic convergence or will the contest and competition persist? Will geostrategic and geopolitical aspects of this bilateral relationship dominate despite all their mutual economic activity? Will economy overwhelm strategy and geography with the passing of time and with increased economic closeness? What past suggests about it, and do the two countries have any change in attitude in the aftermath of the 1962 war? It is also to be seen that are the existing irritants, especially in the aftermath of recent confrontation at Galwan Valley in Ladakh, serious enough to result in future confrontation between them or at least they will keep the antagonism persisting? And if it will persist, are there prospects of a clash or collision between the two Asian giants in the Indian Ocean Region? International relations theories such as that of economic interdependence suggest that two sides, with growing economic integration and complex interdependence, and by understanding each other's sensitivities, come closer and that their areas of difference can lose a worth to initiate any military conflict between them. Those subscribing to these theories believe that keeping in view the "past millennia of peaceful coexistence" of India and China as well as their growing economic interdependence, both will ultimately have a better understanding of each other's sensitivities in future. Rising costs of war is another aspect that makes this prospect attractive. The trust deficit between them can also be curtailed through cultural exchanges and with efforts of the policymakers on both sides to change their respective public perceptions; thus, subsiding the internal political gains of their enmity and warmongering. Similarly, John Echeverri-Gent and April Herlevi of the University of Virginia conclude their papers on the same note with the findings that as the structure of global economy has drastically changed from hub-and-spoke to a more controlled and monopolized one to a decentralized



and open one, of which, the authors claim, the sure "consequences for the way countries define and pursue their strategic interests."

Noted defence analyst, Air Vice Martial (retd) Shahzad Chaudhary, in an interview with this scribe, asserted that the only reality of the world is economy. The economy will ultimately put the strategic interests of both India and China on the backburner because the more the two countries gain wealth, the more they will search ways and means to avoid war, owing to the anticipated losses a conflict could inflict to their respective economies. Although they may procure and accumulate more and more weapons and other war paraphernalia with growth of their wealth and economy, their chances of engaging each other in direct conflict would diminish. When you have this (wealth), you develop relationships and project your power at the farthest geographical points of the world as the US has maintained seven fleets since World War II and even America's Third fleet is sitting in Europe. So, the acquisition

Even after 1962 war, territorial disputes between the two countries were not settled. The opposing claims and outlooks are the festering wound that may result in a full-fledged confrontation—the 2017 two-month-long Doklam standoff and the 2020 fight which was the "deadliest in 45 years" offer some glimpses into this proposition. It is a strong perception, backed by historical evidence and theoretical frameworks of global politics, that when two powers rise simultaneously—particularly if they have divergent strategic cultures and geopolitical orientations—the competition or clash becomes more likely. For instance, according to a prediction made by the US National Intelligence Council's 2004 report titled "Mapping the Global Future," in 2004 that the Sino-India rise would have radical impact on the existing geopolitical environment of not only the region but also beyond, and the outcome of that would be necessarily confrontational. The cautioned that "the likely emergence of China and



of modern weapon systems by strong economies, are merely for power projection, and not for war. The complex web of globalization and intricate interdependence has so emerged that the sane world will now find it extremely difficult to go to war with missiles and tanks rather it will be in the form of economic competition only.

However, the 2017 confrontation between the two countries at Doklam border area in Indian state of Sikkim, and the recent Ladakh episode, along with their persisting longstanding territorial, political and strategic frictions and, above all, the persistent mistrust between them may imply opposite to what the liberal internationalists, or the proponents of economic interdependence see. Do China and India really see each other as strategic competitors and regional rivals? The answer is essentially 'YES'. Lack of trust and perpetual military and political competition between them evoke to the use of realist paradigm lens for a realistic analysis of Sino-Indian ties.

India, as well as others, as new major global players—similar to the advent of a united Germany in the 19th century and a powerful United States in the early 20th century—will transform the geopolitical landscape with impacts potentially as dramatic as those in the previous two centuries."

India recognizes McMahon Line as a de-jure border between the two countries but China does not. It claims that on the basis of an accord which was signed between the so-called Tibetan representative, Dalai Lama, and the British government at the end of the 1914 Simla Convention. Under the agreement, the former had no locus standi to enter into such an agreement with the British, without the participation of Chinese authorities. Hence, China considered this agreement void. Moreover, China claims the entire state of Arunachal Pradesh, which was once South Tibet and was renamed after the British's withdrawal, as its territory. The issue is taken more



seriously by China as its government categorically rebuked Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's February 2019 visit to Arunachal Pradesh, and cautioned the Indian government to avoid such a move which could 'complicate the boundary question'.

Now China feels that Indian moves regarding Tibet, including hosting of its leader Dalai Lama and his government-in-exile, ominous alliance between India and the United States and its clandestine efforts to ignite some rebellion against China, are acts of interference in its internal affairs. Both sides are unlikely to withdraw from their respective positions, especially India because Modi fears the anticipated public backlash and domestic political damage. The Tibet issue is very sensitive for China, and India's sheltering a huge Tibetan population and helping their voice reach international community is a matter of deep concern for China. For India, on the other hand, it might not be possible to pacify China by accepting its demands regarding Dalai Lama and his followers

India has been miffed by China many a time for supporting Pakistan's stance even by blocking and vetoing the moves in the United Nations Security Council against Pakistan-based anti-India organizations that support Kashmir's freedom struggle—China even refused to change its view in the aftermath of the Pulwama attack. One recent issue of divergence is that Indian government, of late, has been vocal in opposing China-sponsored CPEC projects and roads on Pakistani side of the disputed territory of Kashmir region. India believes these high-prized Chinese projects under the OBOR "challenge Indian sovereignty."

India and China have many areas of divergence and frictions that make their relationship tricky. Despite growing economic interdependence and trade volumes, the two countries are unable to shun the impact of geopolitics. Realism prevails and globalization is unable to defeat geopolitics especially in the Indo-Pacific region, and security is still the greatest concern for the region.



because of the ideological association and the overwhelming public support the Tibetans enjoy in India. Dalai Lama's demand of Tibet is not for a complete independence, but of autonomy. Also, India recognized Tibet (as an autonomous region) as a part the People's Republic of China in reciprocation to China's recognizing Sikkim as a part of India, but the friction still exists and increasing mainly due to China's suspicion of India's future designs about Tibet.

Divergence of India and China on their respective Kashmir policies is also a major hurdle in improving relations between the two sides. India objects to China's policy of not heeding to India's concerns over Jammu and Kashmir, not recognizing it as an integral part of India and for issuing staple visas to those with a Kashmiri domicile. As China has been a vocal supporter of Pakistan's stance on Kashmir, India cautions China of discerning the sensitivity of the issue. India believes that Kashmir is to it as Tibet and Taiwan are to China.

Territorial disputes, containment of China policy, regional aspirations and massive military modernization, especially with opposing regional and global outlooks, are some of the serious factors. One major element that has kept the two countries at odds and leads them to more competition and least cooperation is the existing distrust which is mainly due to their relative perceptions supported by the history of their relations.

Roots of divergence and hostility between India and China are not only serious but also manifold as well as deep-rooted. However, rationality demands the two nations should revisit their policies and come up with some flexibility on their rigid stances. The current antagonism and hostility can favour none in Asia's already unpredictable and perilous strategic environment. ■

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# WORLD IN TURMOIL

## A global wake-up call for leaders



António Guterres

**F**rom Covid-19 to climate disruption, from racial injustice to rising inequalities, we are a world in turmoil. At the same time, we are an international community with an enduring vision, embodied in the United Nations Charter, which marks its 75th anniversary this year. That vision of a better future—based on the values of equality, mutual respect and international cooperation—has helped us to avoid a Third World War that would have had catastrophic consequences for life on our planet.

Our shared challenge is to channel that collective spirit and rise to this moment of trial and test.

The Covid-19 pandemic has laid bare severe and systemic inequalities both within and between countries and communities. More broadly, it has underscored the world's fragilities, not just in the face of another health emergency, but in our faltering response to the climate crisis, lawlessness in cyberspace, and the risks of nuclear proliferation. People everywhere are losing trust in political establishments and institutions.

The emergency is compounded by many other profound humanitarian crises: conflicts that are continuing or even intensifying; record numbers of people forced to flee their homes; swarms of locusts in Africa and South Asia; looming droughts in southern Africa and Central America—all amid a context of rising geopolitical tensions.

In the face of these fragilities, world leaders need to be humble, and recognise the vital importance of unity and solidarity. No one can predict what comes next, but I see two possible scenarios.

First, the "optimistic" possibility.

In this case, the world would muddle through. Countries in the Global North would engineer a successful exit strategy. Developing countries would receive enough support and their demographic characteristics—namely, the youth of their people—would help contain the impact.

And then perhaps a vaccine would appear in the next nine months or so, and would be distributed as a global public good, a "people's vaccine" available and accessible to all.

If this happens, and if the economy starts up progressively, we might move towards some kind of normality in two or three years.

But there is also a second, bleaker scenario in which countries fail to coordinate their actions. New waves of the virus keep occurring. The situation in the developing world explodes. Work on the vaccine lags—or even if there is a vaccine relatively soon—it becomes the subject of fierce competition and countries with greater economic power gain access to it first, leaving others behind.

In this scenario, we could also see greater movement toward fragmentation, populism and xenophobia. Each country could go it alone or in so-called coalitions of the willing to address some specific challenges. In the end, the world would fail to mobilise the kind of governance needed to address our shared challenges.

The result may well be a global depression that could last at least five or seven years before a new normal emerges, the nature of which is impossible to predict.

It is very difficult to know if we are moving in one direction or the other. We must work for the best and prepare for the worst. The pandemic, as horrible as it is, must be a wake-up call that prompts all political leaders to understand that our assumptions and approaches have to change, and that division is a danger to everyone. This understanding could lead people to recognise that the only way to address global fragilities is through much more robust mechanisms of global governance with international cooperation.

After all, we cannot simply return to the systems that gave rise to the current crisis. We need to build back better with more sustainable, inclusive, gender-equal societies and economies. In doing so, we must reimagine the way nations cooperate. Today's multilateralism lacks scale, ambition and teeth—and some of the instruments that do have teeth show little or no appetite to bite, as we have seen in the difficulties faced by the Security Council.

We need a networked multilateralism, in which the United Nations and its agencies, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, regional organisations such as the African Union and European Union, trade organisations and others work together more closely and effectively.

We also need a more inclusive multilateralism. Governments today are far from the only players in terms of politics and power. Civil society, the business community, local authorities, cities and regional governments are assuming more and more leadership roles in today's world.

This, in turn, will help lead to an effective multilateralism with the mechanisms it needs to make global governance work where it is needed.

A new, networked, inclusive, effective multilateralism, based on the enduring values of the United Nations Charter, could snap us out of our sleepwalking state and stop the slide towards ever greater danger.

Political leaders around the world need to heed this wake-up call and come together to address the world's fragilities, strengthen our capacity for global governance, give teeth to multilateral institutions, and draw from the power of unity and solidarity to overcome the biggest test of our times. ■



A

As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, the world is now experiencing the worst recession since that of 1929. It has developed with terrible speed, causing by July 24, the death of 636,000 people, with 15 million infected.

Hundreds of millions, if not billions, of people have been put out of work and the result is a massive loss of output and a collapse in the demand for goods and services. There is a widespread feeling that profound political and economic change will occur, but no one knows where it will lead.

Covid-19 has widened economic gaps, reinforced authoritarian trends and nationalist tendencies. It has also revealed the differences between well-managed and badly-managed countries and regions. In April 2020, the IMF summarized the economic situation as follows: "Assuming that the pandemic and containment peaks in the second quarter of this year, for most countries in the world, and recedes in the second half, the global economy in 2020 would shrink by three percent." This was a reduction of 6.3 percent from the forecast made in January 2020, a

The Middle East, the world's most volatile region for more than seven decades, has been ravaged over the past 5-6 months by twin disasters—the coronavirus pandemic and the historic collapse of global oil prices. After facing thousands of deaths, countries across the Middle East are grappling with what appears to be a new surge in coronavirus cases. Simultaneously, economies across the region have been hit hard after oil prices dropped to historic lows last month, owing to a simultaneous supply glut and the diminished demand for oil and gas during worldwide lockdowns. The twin crises of sickness and sliding oil prices coincided with rumbling instability: three ongoing civil wars—in Yemen, Libya and Syria—plus months of deadly protests in Iraq; the implosion of Lebanon's monetary system; the third Israeli election in a year; the presence of millions of refugees and displaced people in rudimentary camps in Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon; and the resurgence of suicide attacks and assassinations by ISIS. The crises have set the stage for the Middle East to become even more volatile.

Paul Rivlin

major revision over a very short period. In May, however, the Fund increased its estimate of the losses and suggested that world output will fall much more.

The Middle East has been hit by two large overlapping shocks: Covid-19 and the collapse in oil prices. The Covid-19 pandemic has been reported throughout the region. Turkey had, by July 24, the sixteenth largest number of cases in the world with 233,315 and 5,563 deaths. Iran had the eleventh, at 284,034 with 15,074 deaths. Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the UAE, Kuwait, Bahrain and Oman had a total of 599,140 cases and had reported 4,051 deaths. Egypt reported 90,413 cases and 4,480 deaths. All these figures should be treated with caution as under reporting is considered widespread. These developments have caused significant turmoil as a result of simultaneous shocks to supply and demand. The OPEC basket price fell from \$67.12/barrel on January 1, 2020 to a low of \$12.41 on April 28, and reached \$44.24 on July 23. In May,

the US Energy Administration forecast that oil prices will average \$34/barrel in 2020, down from an average of \$64/barrel in 2019. (This forecast is for Brent and the OPEC basket is usually about \$1/barrel less). The

# Coronavirus, Oil and the Middle East





outbreak of Covid-19 has had a massive impact on the crude oil market, as two-thirds of oil is used for transport. All crude oil benchmarks have seen sharp falls, with some briefly dropping to negative levels. World demand for crude is expected to decline by 9.9 million barrels a day in 2020, or 10 percent—over twice the size of any previous fall. Covid-19 has resulted in a massive disruption of world trade and has caused widespread losses, affecting job-rich sectors and businesses. The measures taken in major economies have significantly reduced demand. The resulting global slowdown has impacted global value chains in the region, as well as job-rich retail and manufacturing sectors, and small and medium enterprises in the informal sector. At the same time, restrictive containment

introduced a Value-Added Tax two years ago, the government announced that the rate will be tripled to 15 percent from July 1, and that it will end a 1000 Saudi Riyals monthly living allowance for Saudi citizens from June 1. Saudi Arabia also announced a \$13 billion package to support businesses and small and medium enterprises. The United Arab Emirates has issued a \$27 billion stimulus plan to help boost the economy, including subsidies to water and electricity for citizens, as well as commercial and industrial activities. Qatar announced a similar package of \$23 billion to support and provide financial and economic incentives to the private sector. Egypt unveiled a comprehensive plan costing \$6 billion to combat the fast-spreading virus and support economic growth.

In April, the chief economist of the IMF said that in 2020 economies in the Middle East would contract by an average of 3.1 percent. Most countries have revised growth down by more than 4 percentage points in one year, equivalent to a loss of \$425 billion. For nearly all countries, these revisions are steeper than those seen during the global financial crisis in 2008 and the oil price shock of 2015. In April, the World Bank estimated the loss at 3.7 percent, based on an average oil price of \$30/barrel in



measures introduced by governments in the region and fear of contagion have reduced consumer demand, particularly in tourism, hospitality and retailing. Meanwhile, global financial conditions have tightened sharply, adding to the region's challenges.

Countries have been swift in their responses to the crisis. Many countries in the region have announced fiscal support packages, including revenue and expenditure measures, equal to an average of 3.8 percent of GDP. Liquidity support measures have been announced by central banks in seven countries, with an average of 3.4 percent of GDP. Monetary policy has been eased across the region, with the exchange rate used as a buffer where appropriate. Saudi Arabia is an important example. Having only first

2020. Table 1 shows how the World Bank has changed its forecasts for economic growth in the Middle East. Fragile and conflict-ridden states have been affected

Table 1: GDP growth estimates for 2020 (annual, percent)

Forecast made in:	October 2019	March 2020	April 2020	Difference between October and March
MENA	2.6	-2.1	-3.7	-6.3
GCC	2.2	-1.4	-2.6	-4.8
Saudi Arabia	1.6	-0.8	-1.4	-3.0
Iran	0.1	-1.9	-3.8	-3.9
Iraq	5.1	-9.0	-10.1	-15.2
Egypt	5.8	-0.3	-2.1	-7.9
Jordan	2.3	-0.4	-5.8	-8.1
Lebanon	0.3	-8.1	-11.2	-11.5
Tunisia	2.2	-1.4	-6.2	-8.4
WB and Gaza	-1.1	0	-1.4	-2.5

Source: World Bank



particularly hard. These include oil producers such as Iraq and Algeria and oil importers such as Jordan and Tunisia. Yemen faces catastrophic conditions despite the reduction in fighting and the government in Syria is manipulating the flow of medical supplies for its own ends. The crisis in Lebanon, the origins of which preceded the outbreak of Covid-19, has deepened. The economic downturn has exacerbated the already large humanitarian and refugee challenges facing these countries, especially given their weak health infrastructures and living conditions that may be conducive to a rapid spread of the pandemic. According to the UN Economic and Social Commission for West Asia, the Arab region may lose 1.7 million jobs in 2020, thus increasing the unemployment rate by 1.2 percent. This is based on much lower falls in income than those cited here. The Covid-19 pandemic is severely damaging employment across all sectors because of social distancing policies, especially the services sector. Given that the service sector is the main employer in the Arab region, the adverse impact on its activities will result in significant job losses. The Arab region may witness further shrinking of the middle-income class, pushing 8.3 million people into poverty. The consequences of this crisis could be particularly severe for vulnerable groups, especially women and young adults, and those working in the informal sector who have no access to social protection and unemployment insurance.

The significance of oil income in the region is shown in Table 2. It shows that oil was far more important to the economies of Arab countries and Iran than to the world economy. This source of income was the result of the presence of natural resources rather than human production and is, therefore, called rent. The drilling, transport and refining of oil as well as gas employs only about one million people in the region. All the income earned goes to the government, if not the ruler himself. The government then reallocates it through the budget.

Oil-exporting countries have been hit by lower global demand and lower oil prices, with oil exports expected to decline by more than \$250 billion. In 2019, Middle East oil revenues were estimated at about \$600 billion and so this represents a fall of over 40 percent. As a result, fiscal balances are expected to turn negative, exceeding 10 percent of GDP in most countries. Oil-importing economies would be adversely affected by a large decline in remittances and investment and capital flows from oil-exporting countries. The large deterioration in their fiscal deficit—due to the impact of lower growth on tax revenues and scaled-up spending—is expected to raise public debt to almost 95 percent of GDP.

Large forthcoming maturing debt presents financing risks in current market conditions. High public debt levels may limit the space available to undertake measures.

In 2018, remittances accounted for 0.8 percent of world GDP while in the Middle East and North Africa, excluding

Table 2: Oil income as share of GDP (%)

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
World	2.83	2.72	2.48	2.16	0.97	0.81	1.11
Arab states	33.85	32.98	30.11	26.76	15.34	12.85	16.42
Algeria	27.31	26.17	23.82	20.36	12.85	11.44	15.34
Egypt	9.76	8.38	7.78	6.75	2.96	2.26	4.08
Iran	24.7	20.20	22.89	22.36	12.81	11.44	15.34
Iraq	50.77	48.44	45.32	45.33	34.90	31.16	37.78
Kuwait	61.23	61.07	57.45	54.26	37.10	31.64	37.78
Saudi Arabia	49.23	47.23	44.19	40.01	23.29	19.43	23.10
UAE	28.78	28.50	25.78	23.05	13.13	10.83	13.13

Source: World Bank Data

the high income states, the share was 5.7 percent.

Remittances are earned outside the economy in which they are received, and they are also considered a source of rental income. The two main sources of rental income, fossil fuels and remittances, play vital roles in the rich and poor economies of the region. Their collapse will put huge pressure on the Arab socio-economic system and may, in the long run threaten political stability. The large tourist sectors in Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia have been affected by the suspension of international flights and cruises.

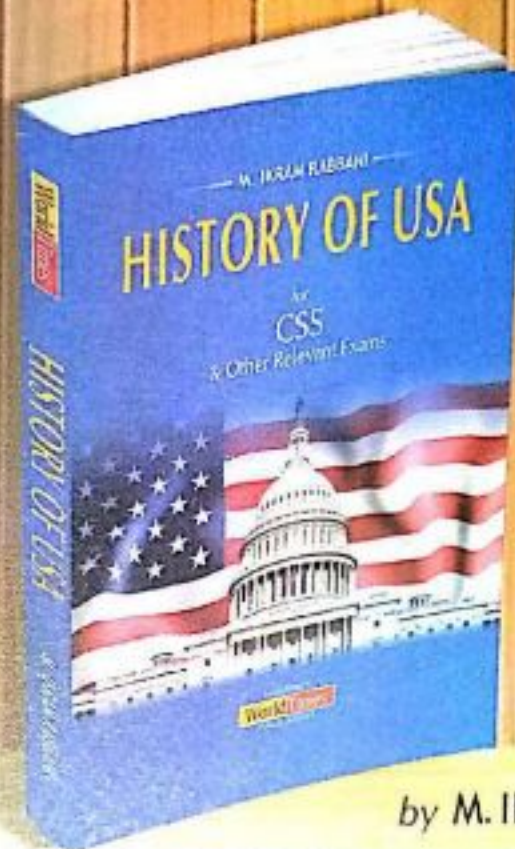
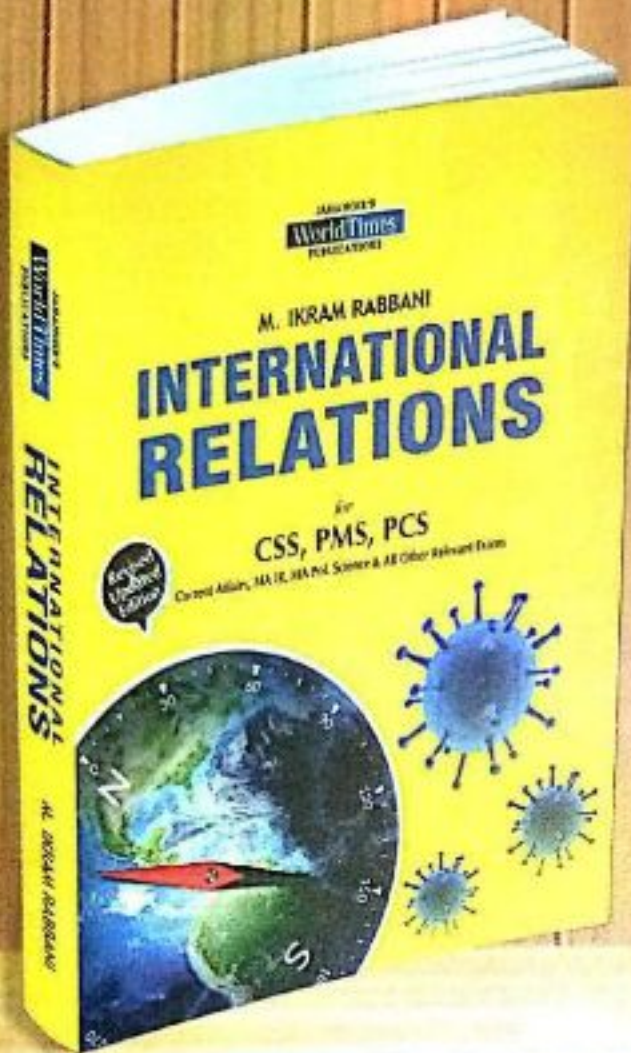
Natural resource endowments have shaped Arab economies for decades, especially in the resource-rich net oil-exporters where high per capita rents, in the form of government provision of subsidies, low tax rates and large-scale public-sector employment, have been a central part of development policy.

Natural resource riches have also influenced Arab oil-poor and non-oil exporting economies through capital flows from the resource-rich countries, especially investment, remittances and tourism inflows. These rents and their spillover effects have thus played the main role in promoting social and economic development over the past four decades across most Arab countries. They have also reinforced authoritarianism and, in some cases, political instability and conflict. The medium-term outlook for oil prices is far from clear because of uncertainties about demand as well as those about the financing of supply. Covid-19 is increasingly being viewed as a part of humankind's neglect of the natural environment. The suspension of economic activity has in many countries literally cleared the skies and this poses the question of what will change, especially in oil-intensive transport systems. The consequences of changes in energy-use will be crucial for Middle East (and other) oil suppliers and thus for the political economy of the whole region. ■

*The author is an economist and Senior Research Fellow at the MDC for Middle Eastern and African Studies.*



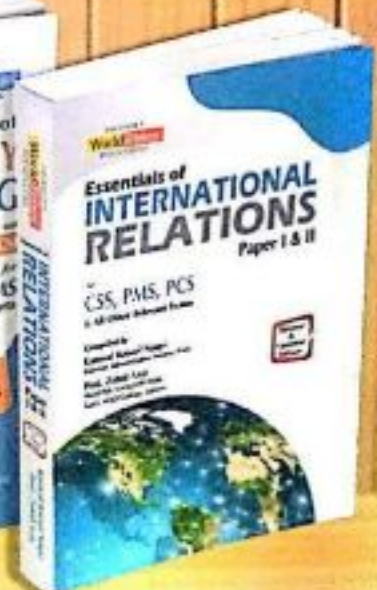
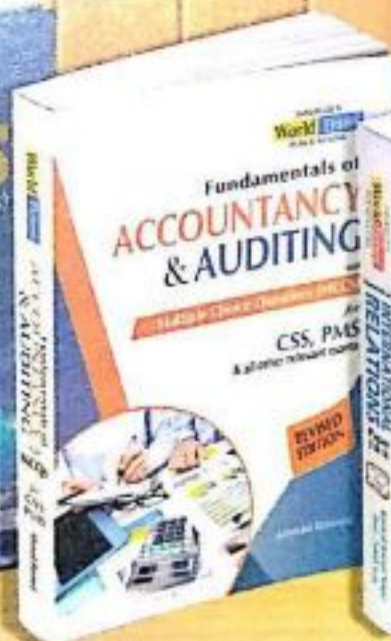
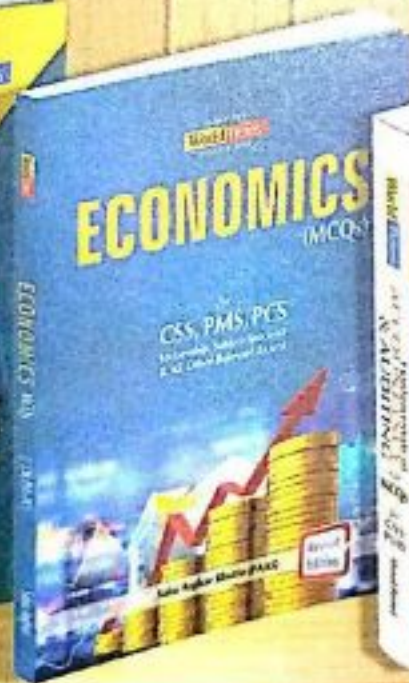
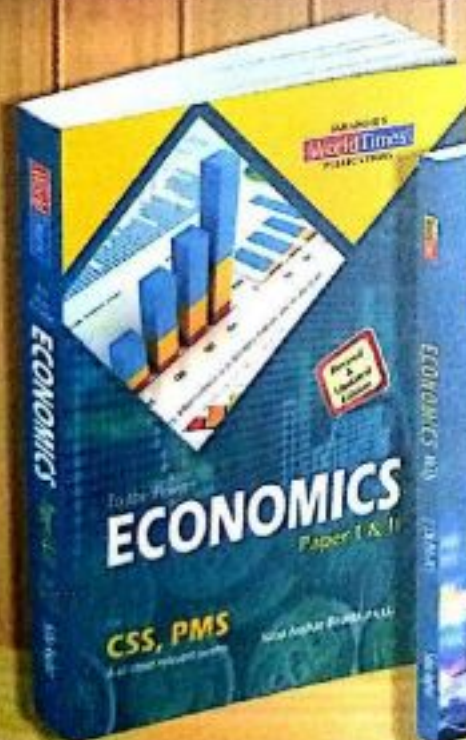
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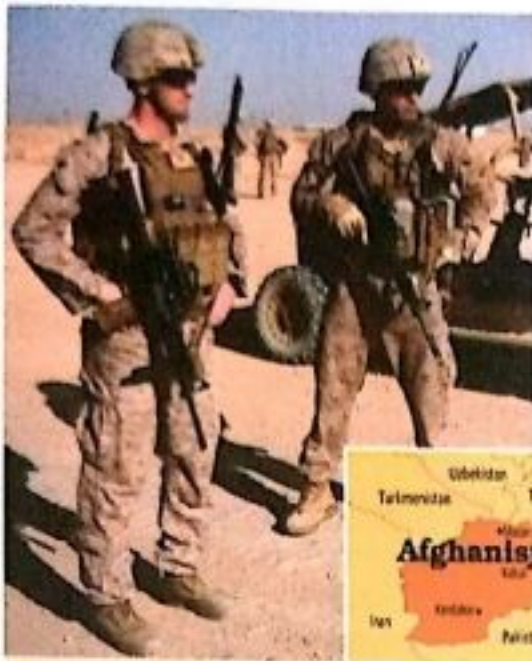
by M. IKRAM RABBANI

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Moscow and Washington are intertwined in a complex and bloody history in Afghanistan, with both suffering thousands of dead and wounded in conflicts lasting for years. Now both superpowers are linked again over Afghanistan, with intelligence reports indicating Russia secretly offered bounties to the Taliban to kill American troops there. But analysts like Anatol Lieven (Professor at Qatar's Georgetown University) and Andrew Wilder (Vice President of the Asia Program at the US Institute of Peace), suggest that despite these apparent differences, the two adversaries actually have much in common, especially when it comes to what a postwar Afghanistan should look like. Both want a stable country that does not serve as a base for extremists to export terrorism. They argue that the Russian endgame is an Afghanistan which will neither support jihadi movements in the former USSR nor host American bases that might one day be used against Russia.

# US-Russian Interests in Afghanistan

Ghufran Wakeel

**E**ven the Pentagon has reported to the US Congress that Russia backed Washington's deal with the Taliban as the best path forward, while, at the same time, the Kremlin has sought to cultivate interest with the group, limit the West's military presence and encourage operations against Islamic State militants.

Even as Russia and the US vie for influence in Afghanistan, they are aligned in their opposition to IS. Moscow regards the Taliban as the lesser evil and, like Washington, sees it as an ally in the fight against both IS and the IMU. A humiliating defeat of the US and NATO forces in Afghanistan by the Taliban would provide some in Moscow with a feel-good sense of revenge for the US support to mujahideen groups in the 1980s.

Nevertheless, Moscow's vision of a postwar Afghanistan is much the same as Washington's. They would prefer an end state not that different from what the US desires—a political settlement that leads to the withdrawal of US and NATO forces but leaves behind a relatively stable and ethnically inclusive government that can ensure Afghanistan doesn't again become a safe haven for

transnational terrorist groups.

Afghanistan's neighbours, including the strategically sensitive nations of Central Asia bordering Russia, would be "the biggest losers" if a withdrawal of US and NATO forces led to a collapse of the country and a return to the anarchy of the 1990s.

As for the reports of bounties being paid to the insurgents, analysts also say that cash from abroad has flowed into Afghanistan for years. Loyalties are fluid in

the country and money has been used to buy influence, curry favour or manipulate government officials since the collapse of the Taliban in 2001. As far back as 2013, giving suitcases of cash to the Afghan government by the CIA was being blamed for runaway corruption. Washington's own watchdog, the Special Inspector General for Afghan Reconstruction

(SIGAR) has alleged that billions of dollars have been pocketed by government officials, warlords, drug lords and insurgents. The money was pumped into Afghanistan by the US, Iran, Pakistan, Russia and India.

Michael Kugelman, deputy director of the Asia Program at the Wilson Center, opines that US military officials had often suggested that Russia is funnelling arms to the Taliban, but the evidence hasn't been nearly strong. ■





Exclusive Interview

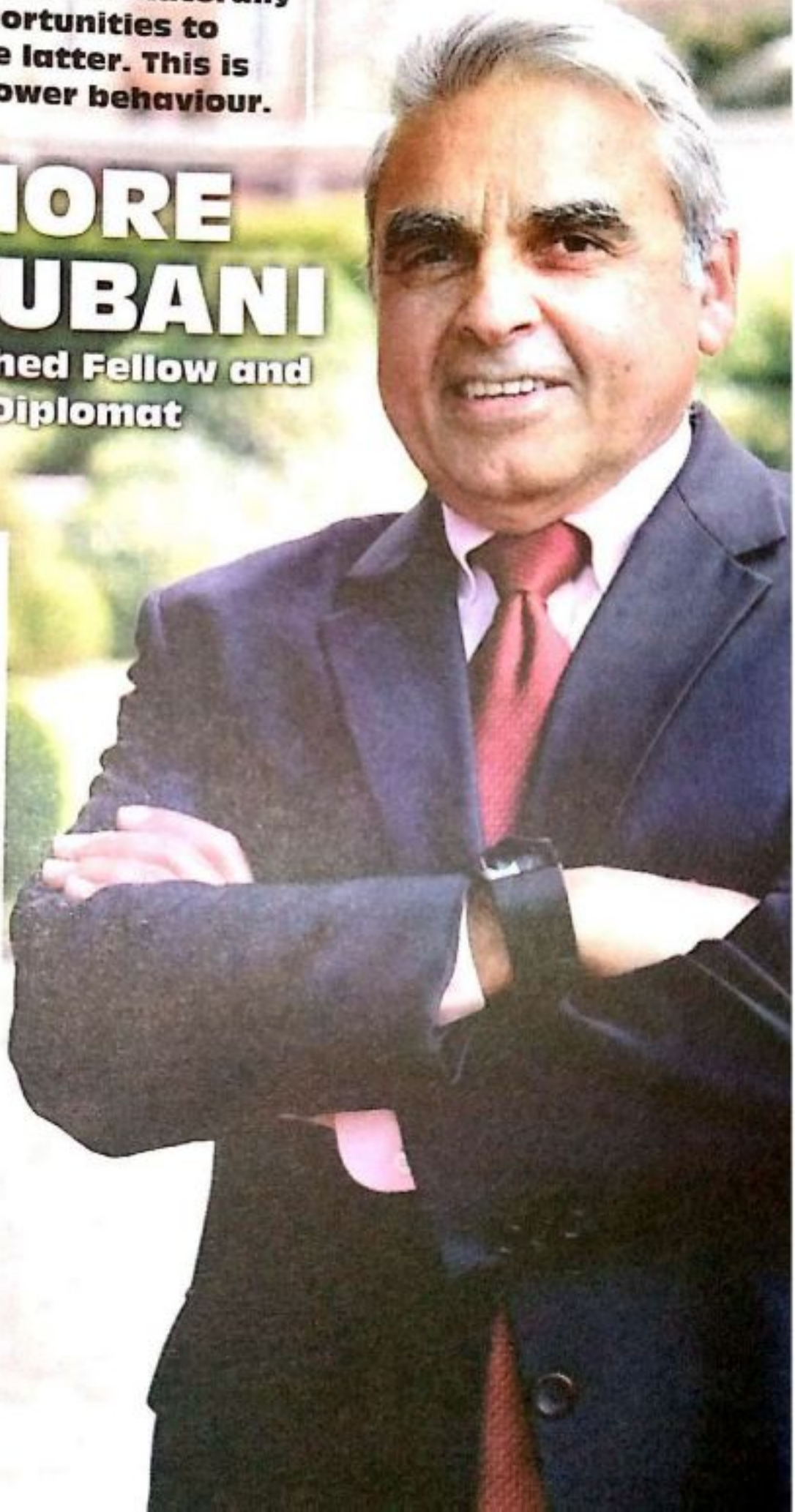
**In the US-China geopolitical contest, the former will naturally look for opportunities to embarrass the latter. This is natural superpower behaviour.**

# KISHORE MAHBUBANI

**ARI Distinguished Fellow and  
Former Diplomat**

**Kishore Mahbubani**  
Distinguished Fellow, Asia  
Research Institute,  
National University of  
Singapore

A veteran diplomat, student of philosophy, and celebrated author, Kishore Mahbubani is currently a Distinguished Fellow at the National University of Singapore's Asia Research Institute. Mahbubani is also a former President of the UN Security Council (Jan 2001, May 2002) and the Founding Dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (2004-2017). Mahbubani writes and speaks prolifically on the rise of Asia, geopolitics and global governance. His eight books and articles in the New York Times, Washington Post, Financial Times and Foreign Affairs have earned him global recognition as "the muse of the Asian century." He was inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in October 2019.





**O**n June 30, Hong Kong reached a significant turning point on the 23rd anniversary of its return to China as a law on safeguarding national security came into force. The law, which took effect upon its promulgation by the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government in the Gazette, seeks to prevent, curb and punish crimes seriously endangering national security, namely secession, subversion, terrorist activities, and collusion with a foreign country or external elements to endanger national security. However, it has also attracted widespread criticism from around the world. The United States and China, the world's two biggest powers, have increasingly turned hostile against each other on this issue. In order to find out answers to questions: "how Hong Kong affairs should be understood in the context of China-US rivalry?" and "should the US and other Western countries, which are in deep internal crisis right now, should reform their own political systems?" veteran diplomat Kishore Mahbubani shares his thoughts in the following interview.

**Question: Does the recent deterioration in US-China relations go beyond your expectation? Will this trend continue after the US presidential election in November?**

**Answer:** The recent deterioration of US-China relations is not a surprise. It could have been predicted. The US' decision to launch a geopolitical contest against China was driven by a few major structural forces. Firstly, as Prof. Graham Allison observes, such a geopolitical contest inevitably breaks out when the No.2 power (today China) becomes stronger relative to the No.1 power (today US). Secondly, the US resents the growing international influence of China, through projects like the Belt and Road Initiative and the AIIB (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank). Thirdly, as former Assistant Secretary of state Kurt Campbell has documented, Washington expected that US power and hegemony could readily mould China to its liking. In short, the US expected China to become like the US, a liberal democracy. The US is disappointed that the reality fell short of its expectation. In addition, the Western

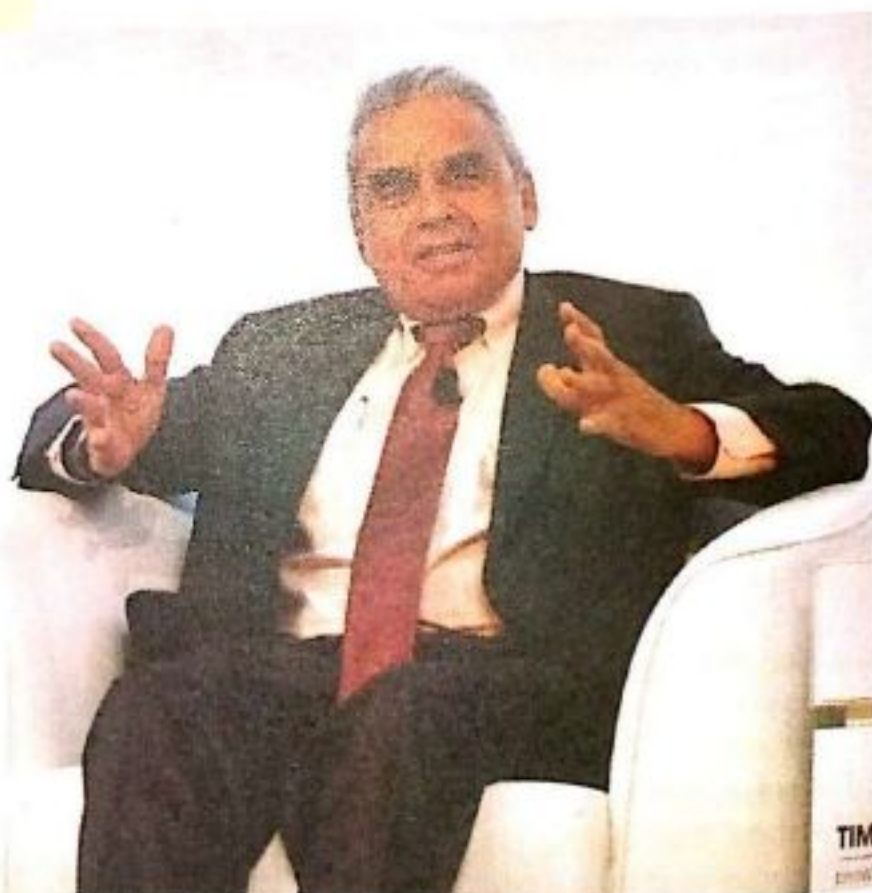
psyche has long had a fear of the 'yellow peril'. As a result of such structural forces, there is bipartisan support in the US for the current US policy of launching a contest against China.

This geopolitical contest will continue after November, whosoever wins. Nonetheless, there is also no doubt that a Biden administration would be more courteous to China. Despite this, the US could also become a formidable competitor to China under Biden as his administration will be able to rally more effectively the friends and allies of the US, like the Europeans.

**Question: China and the US have seen increasing competition and conflicts in terms of economy, technology, political systems and global leadership. In which areas do you think the conflicts can be prevented and in which areas are conflicts likely to intensify?**

**Answer:** It is difficult to anticipate the future course of the US-China geopolitical contest because the former has not worked out a comprehensive and thoughtful long-term strategy for managing the latter. As a result of a lack of strategy, many of the actions taken by the United States against China, like the trade war, are also hurting the interests of the American people, especially amidst Covid-19.

The fundamental question that the US needs to answer before formulating a strategy on China is whether key strategic goal of the USA should be to protect its primacy in the global system or to enhance the well-being of the





people.

So far, many in the Trump administration believe that the US should protect its primacy. Sadly, this impulse has also resulted in the US fighting unnecessary wars, wasting, for example US\$ 5 trillion in unnecessary post-9/11 wars. In short, if the US focuses its efforts on improving the well-being of its people and dealing with climate change, many areas of competition like the trade wars can be avoided. However, if the US focuses on primacy, the competition with China will step up in many areas, resulting in many actions like blocking Huawei from selling its 5G technology and resisting Chinese initiatives, like the BRI.

We can only hope that the US will take the wiser course of enhancing the well-being of its people.

**Question: Some scholars think that US-China relations have been at their worst point over the past four decades, and that it will take decades to overcome the estrangement. In this scenario, how will this confrontation influence world patterns in the coming decades? Will countries have to take sides?**

**Answer:** There are 330 million people living in the United States, and 1.4 billion in China. Six billion people, approximately, live outside these two countries. It is clear that these six billion people are deeply troubled by the US-China geopolitical contest as they believe that both countries should come together to lead efforts to deal with pressing global challenges, like Covid-19 and global warming. Hence, only a few countries, if any, will take sides. The vast majority of humanity would be relieved and happy if both US and China set aside their geopolitical contest and focus on resurrecting the global economy, which has deeply stalled since the outbreak of Covid-19. One clear indication of this viewpoint was provided by the refusal of any country to follow the US when it left the World Health Organization (WHO). German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Emmanuel Macron have spoken out about the importance of multilateralism. The world should encourage the European Union to provide leadership in revitalizing multilateral institutions. They could help to stabilize a world disrupted by the US-China geopolitical contest.



**Question: You recently said Hong Kong has become a 'pawn' in the escalating rivalry between the United States and China. Can you please elaborate on that?**

**Answer:** In the US-China geopolitical contest, the former will naturally look for opportunities to embarrass the latter. This is natural superpower behaviour. The US also believes that the recent unrest in Hong Kong and the enactment of a national security law provide a convenient propaganda weapon that the US should use against China, especially in the Western world. It is, therefore, important for the people of Hong Kong to realize that their city has become a political football that will be kicked around in the geopolitical contest. In any football match, the players enjoy kicking the ball and using it to score goals, especially propaganda goals. But in this competition, the football gets damaged. If the people of Hong Kong do not understand that they have become a pawn in a geopolitical contest, they may resent later.

Many Western countries that have been supporting the demonstrations and protests in Hong Kong believe that their interests are best served by instability in the city as it is seen as an embarrassment for China. Actually, if the Western countries, including the US and the UK, did a sober calculation of their real long-term interests, especially their primary interest in revitalizing the global economy, they would come to the realization that stability in Hong Kong and its continuation as a vibrant commercial and financial centre could enable Western companies to get full benefit from China's growth.

**Question: Hong Kong under the British colonial rule up till 1997 was one of the frontlines of the West in Asia, but now China has asserted its sovereignty over Hong Kong. Beijing's enactment of a national security law is being strongly opposed by the West. What's behind such a clash?**

**Answer:** Every country has national security laws which are designed to provide for protection against any foreign interference, especially in their domestic politics. For example, the United States has the freest press in the world but, until recently, no foreigner could own a TV



channel there. Even Rupert Murdoch had to give up his Australian citizenship and become a US citizen before he could own a TV station in the United States. From 2017 onwards, the US has allowed 100% foreign ownership. Nonetheless, the State Department has used alternative legislation, the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA), to regulate foreign-owned TV channels. The American people were outraged when reports surfaced that Russian money may have helped Trump win the presidential election. Curiously, as the New York Times has documented, the US has a history of intervening in other countries' elections. Dov Levin, assistant professor of International Relations at Carnegie Mellon University, found 81 instances of overt and covert interventions in other countries' elections by the US, as compared to 36 by the Soviet Union/ Russia, between 1946 and 2000.

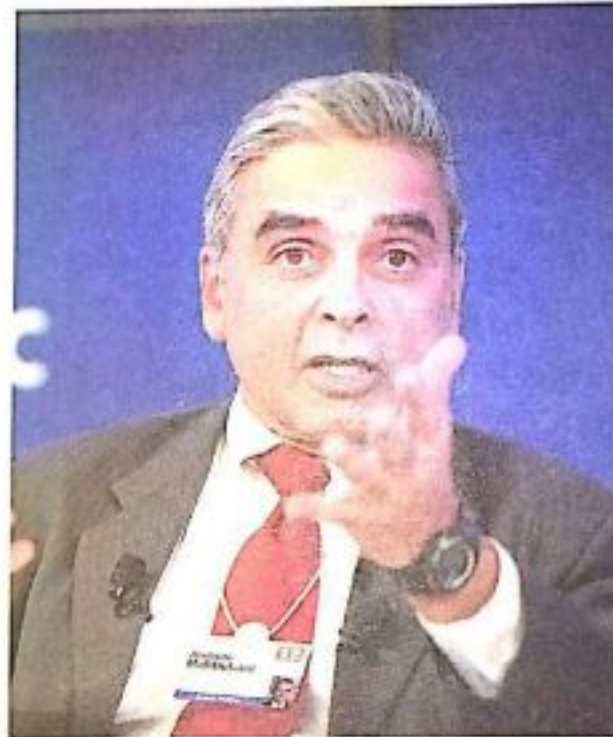
Since every country in the world has national security laws, the new laws to be adopted in Hong Kong can follow best international practices in countries that have civil and personal rights comparable to Hong Kong's. There is no need to re-invent the wheel here. I am confident that Hong Kong can remain a vibrant commercial and financial hub and an open cosmopolitan city if the national security legislation conforms to well-established international norms and is implemented by the independent courts of Hong Kong. However, to achieve this goal, the HK leaders must make a massive effort of public education to explain these new laws to the people.

**Question: The death of George Floyd has led to massive protests in the United States. Not long after the protests began, US politicians have threatened to use army to quell protests. Why did they take a totally different attitude toward Hong Kong's violent protesters?**

**Answer:** Although peaceful protests are legal everywhere, no society can allow violent demonstrations. In all healthy societies, there is one cardinal unbreakable rule. The state authorities must have the monopoly on violent methods to preserve law and order. This is why police officers have the authority to legally arrest citizens.

Hence, it was legitimate for both the Hong Kong police and US police officers to clamp down on violent demonstrations, although wise policemen do it with careful restraint. The HK police have been able to respond effectively to violent demonstrations without any loss of life. By contrast, some citizens have lost their lives in American protests.

It is a tragedy that the living standards of the bottom 50 percent in Hong Kong, like the bottom 50 percent in the US, have not gone up in recent times. This is the root cause for the demonstrations in Hong Kong as well as the US. Fortunately, Hong Kong is in a good position to take care of its bottom 50 percent. Hence, I remain optimistic for it.



**Question: Since the 18th century, the West has barely reformed its political system. In the post-Covid-19 world, will the West gradually begin an era of "big government?" Do they need to make a reflection or reforms?**

**Answer:** While speaking about the "West" and "big government," one has to make a major distinction between the European Union (EU) member states and the US. It is true that both the EU member states and the US performed badly in response to Covid-19 as their fatality rates per million (Spain 580, Italy 562, UK 610, USA 339) are higher than the East Asian rates (Japan 7, China 3,

Singapore 4 and Vietnam 0). Yet, on balance, many EU member states have developed a healthy balance between the roles of government and markets in developed societies. Their experience mirrors the wise advice of the Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen who said that the countries that succeed are those who combine the "invisible hand" of free markets and "visible hand" of good governance. This is why some of the Scandinavian states, like Denmark and Finland, are viewed as models for the rest of the world to follow.

By contrast, after President Ronald Reagan, the US has abandoned the "visible hand" of good governance. The US needs to develop a new consensus on rebuilding key government institutions to take care of the significant socio-economic problems that the US has built up. ■



# Lieutenant General Nigar Johar

## A Success Story to Inspire Women



Ayeza Fatima

ment and leadership appointments in the armed forces. She holds Membership of the College of Physicians and Surgeons (MCPS) degree in family medicine, MSc in Advance

Administration and a Master's Degree in Public Health, in addition to multiple courses. She is also the national instructor of Hospital Preparedness for emergencies.

Nigar Johar has the honour of being the first woman officer to be given command of a unit/hospital of the armed forces as she served as the first-ever female deputy commandant of the Combined Military Hospital, Rawalpindi in 2015.

Owing to her spectacular performance in different leadership and administrative appointments and roles, Lt. Gen. Johar was awarded with Tamgha-e-Imtiaz (M), Fatima Jinnah Gold Medal and Hilal-e-Imtiaz (M) for her meritorious services in Army Medical Corps.

Indeed, hers is a story that all Pakistanis can get behind. It is for women and young girls. The fact that she has reached such a senior position in the military—considered a boys' club in every country of the world—makes this story even more inspiring. The success of this incredibly dynamic lady is a proof that women can rise to top jobs in this country, despite the stigmas and taboos that they must face. Her promotion sends a powerful message to our girls and women to aspire for the impossible in life.

It will also encourage women to join the military because they will know for a fact that they can also rise to the top if they are good at their jobs. Indeed, it will also be inspiring for the women currently serving in the forces to know that one day, they might emulate Johar. ■

**O**n June 30, Major General Nigar Johar made history by becoming the first female officer of the Pakistan army to be promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General. The army announced that Major General Nigar Johar, an army doctor who is currently the commandant of Pak-Emirates Military Hospital in Rawalpindi,

has been promoted. In another first, she will be posted as the Surgeon General of the Pakistan Army. No woman has held that position before. She was already just the third woman to rise to the rank of Major General after Shahida Malik, who retired in 2004, and Shahida Badshah, who retired in 2013. Making her story all the more interesting is that she hails from the relatively conservative Swabi area, although most of her education was in Rawalpindi. Nigar Johar was born in Panjpir village in Swabi district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) to a Pashtun family. She is the daughter of Col. Qadir, who served in the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and the niece of retired Maj. Mohammad Aamir, a former Pakistan Army officer who served in the ISI as well.

Nigar Johar received her early education from the Presentation Convent Girls High School, Rawalpindi, in 1978, and graduated from the Army Medical College in 1985. She is from the 5th MBBS (Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery) course of the Army Medical College and has served as female Company Commander at the same college. In 2010, she completed the examination for membership of the College of Physicians and Surgeons Pakistan. In 2015, she received a Master's degree in public health from the University of Health Sciences, Lahore.

Nigar has an illustrious career in the Army Medical Corps spanning almost three decades with a rich and diverse experience in manage-





The European Union started using the technique of Regulatory Impact Assessment (RIA) with regards to the proposed and current legislation. The International Association of Impact Assessment defines 'Impact Assessment' as 'the process of identifying the future consequences of a current or proposed action'. There is no tradition or requirement of getting RIA of legislative initiatives in Pakistan leading to speculation of personalized opinions about a piece of legislation by different stakeholders. The Police Order, 2002, like many other legislative initiatives, often is either eulogized and portrayed as a panacea to all ills or is opposed on petty turf considerations. There is knowledge gap insofar as the actual state of affairs is concerned, which will be discussed here in a tentative manner. The assessment is being presented thematically in this write-up.

Kamran Adil

# Tentative Regulatory Impact Assessment of the **Police Order, 2002**

1. Keeping in view the difference between the concepts of 'policing' and 'police', it may be noted that the Police Order, 2002, addressed 'police' part of the reforms that focused on police organization and its allied matters. The broader 'policing' changes affecting powers of policing like the registration of criminal cases, collection of evidence, investigation, search, seizure, power to arrest, bail, remand and matters of similar nature are yet to be undertaken.

2. While the Police Order, 2002, never got implemented fully since its promulgation, the original law was substantially amended by the Police Order (Amendment) Ordinance, 2005, affecting 54 of its provisions. Mostly, these amendments took away much of the independent institutional framework-related prowess of the law.

3. The Police Order was never implemented in Islamabad Capital Territory. After the Eighteenth Amendment, in total disregard to Articles 142 and 143 of the Constitution and latest judgements of the superior courts, the concurrent character of the police law was substituted with exclusive domain interpretation by the provinces culminating into provincial police laws.

A brief overview of the impact of different provisions of the Police Order is noted hereunder:

- a. The law, for the first time, through its following preamble linked Police to people. Expressing the intent of the legislature, specific recitals talked about the rule of law and required Police to be professional, service-oriented and accountable towards people. This was in total contradiction to the Police Act, 1861, that projected Police as an 'instrument' in the hands of colonial masters;
- b. The general duties of Police towards citizens, women, children and elderly were outlined in detail in Articles 2, 3 and 4;
- c. To legally block politically motivated lateral

entry into police organization, Article 7 defined levels of entry into Police;

d. Envisaging functional specialization in Police, Article 8 provided for its legal basis enabling police leadership to move cases for requesting allocation of a dedicated budget for functional components;

e. Based on the model of squaring authority with responsibility, Article 11 provided powers of ex-officio Secretary to the Inspector General of Police. The powers were supplemented with





powers to issue orders (Standing Orders/Standard Operating Procedures) that could shape the daily working of Police. Contrary to these unshackled powers, Section 12 of the Police Act of 1861 made the approval of the provincial government conditional for issuance of any such order. Article 11 did not witness full fruition and remained partially applicable;

f. Article 12 provided for tenure protection of police officers working at different institutional assignments;

g. Article 18-A froze the number of investigations and institutionalized decision-making process of change of investigation. Previously, the investigations were perpetual and criminal cases were used for political purposes as these could be re-opened arbitrarily;

h. Article 24 required oath-taking for Police officers and established ethical relationship with the professionalism;

i. Article 25 provided categories of junior and senior police ranks as compared to colonial jargon of upper and lower subordinate rank structure;

j. Chapter IV linked Police to local government. It was a significant way forward from the colonial Police Act, 1861;

k. Chapters V, VI, VII, VIII and IX linked Police to democratic oversight by elected people. Unfortunately, all the institutional mechanism has been made dysfunctional;

l. Chapter X established a neutral and powerful complaints authority for accountability of Police;

m. Chapter XI envisaged a Criminal Justice Coordination Committee mechanism, which was unique as it brought all criminal justice system's components together. Even District Public Prosecutors (DPPs) happily joined it as it provided a platform under the leadership of Sessions Judge where criminal justice system could be steered in one direction, and the culture of cross-purpose working could be undone;

n. Article 114 provided for the Code of Conduct for police officers in line with the best international practices;

o. Chapters XIII and XIV granted powers to Head of District Police to effectively manage public order situations. Even lockdowns in Post-Covid situation could be ordered under these provisions. Also, these powers provided for regulating activities in the area of Police that could ensure order and security in the society. It could be a beneficial alternative to omnibus 144 Cr. P. C.;

p. Chapter XV had addressed the gap in the legal framework to deal with unclaimed property. An advantageous procedural mechanism has been provided that is used by professional police officers to facilitate the public at large;

q. Chapter XVII criminalized police misconduct and excesses. Contrary to general perception, it even criminalized police torture in Article 156(d);

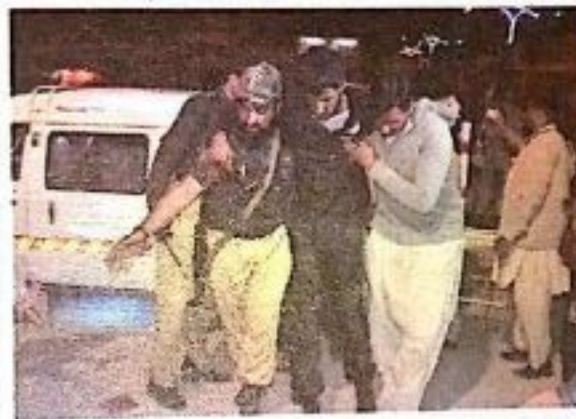
r. Chapter XVIII provided for National Police Management Board, a body of police leadership to take strategic decisions with uniform features and standards for all police organizations of the country;

s. Article 162 provided statutory cover to the National Police Bureau, which should be acting as research and analysis wing with centralized databases and national forensic agency under its control;

t. Article 163 provided a legal basis to enter into international cooperation with international organizations;

u. Article 166 dealt with crime statistics collection, collation and recording in an institutionalized manner. Earlier, there was no legal framework to cover this aspect of police administration;

v. Article 168 catered for the need to establish Police Citizen Liaison Committees. In line with the best international practices, it was conceived as part of



community policing initiatives;

w. Article 169 established Public Safety Fund with provision to credit sums from traffic fines' collection with specific objectives to improve service delivery by Police. It was to be a non-lapsable account. Unfortunately, the provision was never implemented;

x. Article 171 introduced bona fide doctrine as a defence to official actions;

y. Articles 174 to 181 provide for the power to issue licences and their regulation concerning public order;

The above points must be gauged on their merit. There is no cavil to the proposition that the Police Order, 2002, was wholesome legislation on 'police'; timely reforms on 'policing' could have brought about a qualitative change in the overall functioning of the Police. Nonetheless, it did provide many groundbreaking ideas that set the direction for the future of Police and policing in Pakistan. ■

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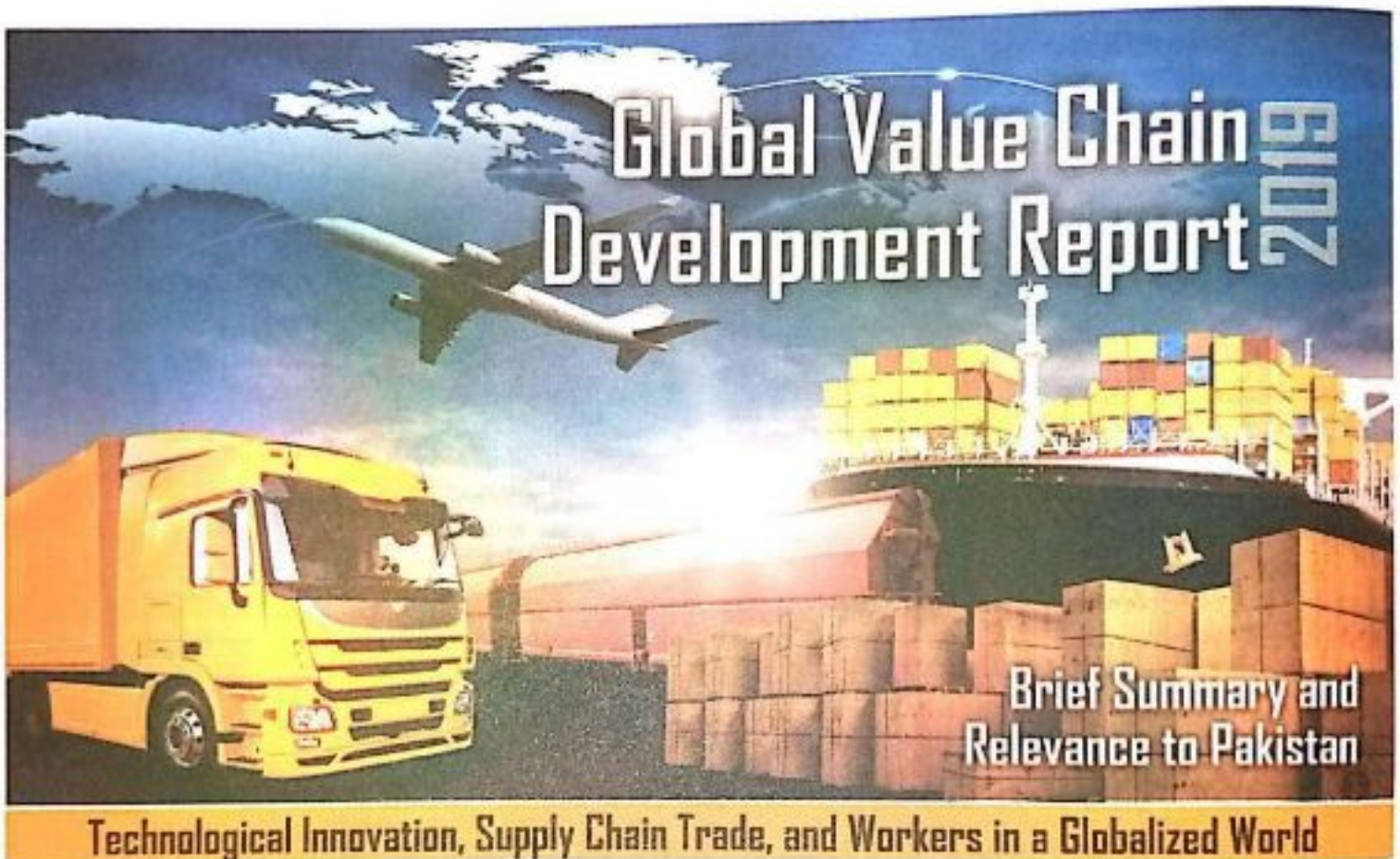


### Brief Summary

The Global Value Chain Development Report 2019, a joint publication of World Trade Organization, Institute of Developing Economies and four other institutions, deeply and comprehensively analyses global value chains (GVCs) along with technological and economic factors that are transforming them. The report, first of all, aptly addresses the criticism that is levelled at the loss of manufacturing jobs in developed countries owing to

intensive exports from developing countries in the short run. However, the salvation of developing countries lies in embracing digital technologies as the Internet of Things (IoT), artificial intelligence, Big Data, robotics, cloud computing, and 3D printing, among others, are transforming economies. Currently, sectors with greater intensity of technology are more integrated into the complex GVCs. Moreover, adoption of digital technologies will enable developing

Omer Hussan Bajwa that developing countries join GVCs at the end of value chains by producing labour-intensive assembly of parts. This thing is responsible for their fewer shares in value addition. Resultantly, they aspire to move up in the value chain. One thing that all developing countries should remember is that if they replace key inputs with inferior domestic versions, there will be fewer exports, as they will lose international market. The domestic, value-added ratio of countries



the growth of GVCs. The effect of GVCs on jobs varies from region to region and individual to individual on the basis of their skill levels. This phenomenon is quite evident in developing countries too. Besides this, many beneficial impacts; for instance, more jobs for women, amelioration of the economic condition, reduction in poverty and high demand of skilled personnel, are associated with integration in GVCs. It has been explained that automation may not affect labour-

countries to participate in 'Supply Chain 4.0 and help small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to participate in GVC. However, currently, SMEs, in developing countries, face numerous challenges including lack of e-commerce platforms, limited access to Internet and low levels of skill in digital technology. Another key concept that has been highlighted in the report is to see trade balance through the lens of value addition. It has been witnessed

observes as a whole a parabola trajectory where initially it rises and, after reaching its peak, falls. This phenomenon has been discussed explicitly in the report. Furthermore, the report sheds light on the issues present in GVC measurement.

### Applicability or Relevance to Pakistan

As per Asian Economic Integration Report 2019-20, Pakistan has very low participation in both regional value chains (RVCs) and GVCs. It indicates that large portion of final





goods is produced purely domestically. Similarly, as per the first quarterly report of year 2020 of the State Bank of Pakistan, Pakistan's backward participation in exports has reached only 5.6% in 2015 and, in case of forward participation, 27% of exports are used as inputs in other countries. Most of these exports originate from primary agricultural commodities and low-tech manufacturing sector. In this perspective, the Report has great relevance to Pakistan as it not only highlights different aspects of GVCs and the impact of technology on them, but also gives some policy recommendations to maximize the benefits that a country can get by integrating into the GVCs. Following points categorically substantiate this proposition.

### 1. **Burgeoning factory Asia**

A significant increase in intra-regional trade activities has been witnessed in Asia between 2000 and 2017. China, Vietnam, India and Bangladesh, in particular, have integrated themselves not only into the RVCs but also in GVCs. The massive increase in trade activities has opened new venues for Pakistan to integrate into both RVCs and GVCs. Trade openness with regional countries will improve competitiveness of Pakistan's exports, particularly textile products that comprised 68% of total exports.

### 2. **China: the new hub of GVCs**

By 2017, China has become supply and demand hub in terms of both the magnitude of value-added exports and the number of strong linkages to other countries. Pakistan can capitalize on this oppor-

tunity by ensuring in-time completion of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Construction of nine special economic zones (SEZs) on priority basis, and encouragement of joint ventures with Chinese GVCs are required steps. However, explicit focus on developing production lines and achieving technological and managerial efficiency are sine qua non in this regard.

### 3. **Diversification of labour markets and regions**

After inclusion in GVCs, the phenomena of labour polarization and regional disparity are evident in those areas where labour market and regional economic activities are not diverse. Labour with low- and medium-level skills are among the most affected. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, a major chunk of labour force falls in this bracket. Training assistance programmes and encouragement of tertiary education in the country are the initiatives the concerned should take at the earliest.

### 4. **Modularization and new vistas of integration**

Modularization of product architecture has offered a new entry point to small-scale firms. Pakistan's insignificant participation in RVCs and GVCs speaks volume about its focus on module formation. Adoption of protectionist policies has been responsible for it. Pakistan's tariffs on intermediates average 8 percent—four times the average in East Asia—and regulatory and additional duties (para-tariffs) are high. Moreover, protectionist policies hamper the inclusion of

technology in the domestic market. Resultantly, Pakistan could not achieve competitiveness and integrate itself in GVCs by achieving competitiveness in any module of product architecture.

### 5. **Gone days of techno-nationalism**

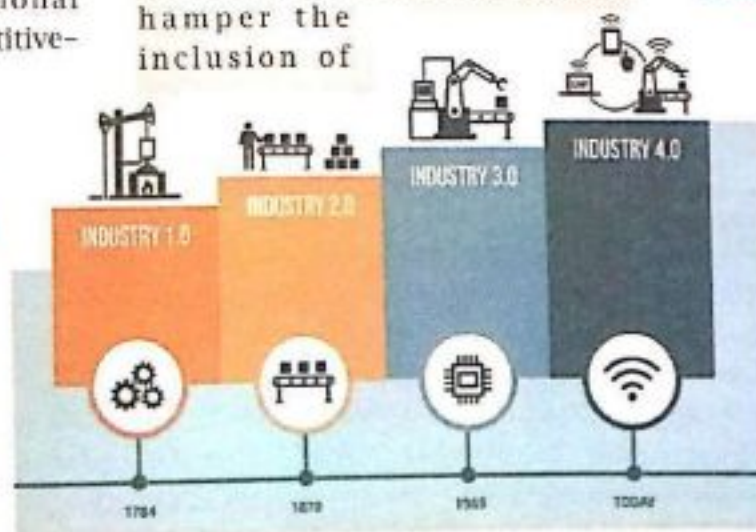
In today's world, there are fewer places for champions of domestic technology, or so-called techno-nationalism, as compared to becoming partners in global technology ecosystems. As many products today are already "made in the world," Pakistan has to focus on becoming a part in the formation of those products.

### 6. **New horizon: Supply Chain 4.0**

It has been studied that countries with higher internet penetration, greater digital entrepreneurial skills, and more skills in previous generations of supply management practices are likely to have advantages in adopting Supply Chain 4.0 methods. Unfortunately, so far, situation in Pakistan is not very encouraging. As per Inclusive Internet Index 2020, Pakistan has been ranked 76th out of 100 countries and it is at 24th position among 26 Asian countries. According to a study by the United Nations and Business Coalition for Education, only 18% Pakistanis under the age of 24 have the skills required for 21<sup>st</sup>-century jobs. Therefore, exclusive focus is required. However, picture is not all bleak; mobile phone penetration is very high in Pakistan—actually the highest in South Asia with over 90 percent geographical coverage.

### 7. **Easy path for SMEs**

Owing to technological development, there is a ray of hope for the SMEs of Pakistan, just like those of the rest the world to become part of GVCs. Admittedly, positive digital effect is greater for SMEs than it is for large firms. In Pakistan, SMEs constitute around 90 percent of all enterprises, employ 80 percent of the non-agricultural labour force, and





contribute 40 percent in annual gross domestic product (GDP). Hence, modernization of SMEs will greatly improve Pakistan's economic condition.

### 8. Inverse relation between domestic value and GDP

Domestic value added to gross export value decreases when a country moves from export of primary products to export of manufactured goods and services via GVCs. However, overall volume of trade and, hence, GDP of the country increases. In many developing countries, including Pakistan, government interventions are made to increase the domestic value as it has been seen in the textile sector of Pakistan. These policies or interventions have proved counter-productive in the long run. In a GVC world, competitive inputs lead to competitive exports. Therefore, Pakistan should not increase its domestic value at the cost of GDP.

### Post-pandemic world, GVCs and Pakistan

Covid-19 pandemic has shaken the whole edifice of global economy. Likewise, severe disruption in the GVCs has been witnessed across the globe. The dangerous lure of self-sufficiency is taking ground. Pakistan,

### Integrated supply chain ecosystem



too, is not safe from the deleterious effects of this pandemic. Eight out of ten largest economies, constituting 40 percent of Pakistan's export market, are expected to contract at accelerated pace. Pakistan's exports will have to navigate in these contracting markets. However, there are some opportunities that Pakistan can grab in this changing world. First of all, companies and countries, after witnessing risks of over-reliance on limited supply nodes, will diversify their supply chains. Pakistan can be

that alternate venue. Moreover, expected increase in the prices of food commodities will help Pakistan earn more revenue from its exports of food items. Work-from-home model will greatly increase exports of services sector and Pakistan can, and should, exploit this job opportunity.

### Conclusion

In a nutshell, the economy of Pakistan is largely introvert as a major portion of its exportable products is produced domestically. However, the current trajectory of the world, taking into account the economic and technological aspects of GVCs, categorically predicts that the soundness of economy of any country depends on its level of integration into the GVCs. In this perspective, Pakistan has to focus on attracting and integrating with MNEs on priority basis, liberalizing its trade policy, enhancing services sector exports, and improving trade logistics. ■

*The author is currently serving as Assistant Director, Pakistan Institute of Trade and Development.*

## What is Supply Chain 4.0?

"Supply Chain 4.0" is the re-organization of supply chains – design and planning, production, distribution, consumption, and reverse logistics – using technologies that are known as "Industry 4.0". These technologies, which emerged in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, are largely implemented by firms that are at the frontier of supply chain management in high-income countries. Though this classification is somewhat artificial, it does, in fact, capture certain prevailing ideas about what firms need to do, and are doing, in order to maintain competitive supply chains.

While Supply Chain 4.0 involves the deployment of such contemporary tools as the Internet of Things (IoT), big data analytics, autonomous robotics, and the like, it is not really about any of these things. It is about transforming the model of supply chain management from a linear model in which instructions flow from supplier to producer to distributor to consumer, and back, to a more integrated model in which information flows in an omni-directional manner to the supply chain. While lead firms are increasingly analyzing this information through "supply chain control towers," the end effect of this development could be making the goods economy more responsive to consumer demand.

### Patterns of GVC Integration

#### 1. Forward integration

Forward integration is defined by the incorporation of a firm's exports in the production of exports by a third country, in other words, supplying intermediate inputs for other countries' exports. For example, Malaysia may produce microchips that are included in US-developed iPhone manufactured in China. This is often measured at the country-sector level in terms of overall levels (domestic value added embodied in third-country exports) and in terms of intensity (share of domestic value added embodied in third-country exports).

#### 2. Backward integration

Backward integration is defined by the use of foreign inputs in production that is exported; in other words, buying foreign inputs in order to export. For example, Bangladesh may import textile fabric produced in Pakistan that is used to make clothing exported by Bangladesh. This is often measured at the country-sector level in terms of overall levels (foreign value added in exports) and in terms of intensity (foreign share of total value added in exports).



# Pakistan's Export Recovery

## Four actions to speed up the process

After months of decline in Pakistan's exports, the Ministry of Commerce recently claimed that the country's exports in June 2020 witnessed a decline of 6.83pc, terming it a "sign of recovery particularly after the historic fall by 8pc, 54pc and 33pc in March, April and May, respectively. This is the time the government introduces policies that may help the country regain the trajectory in exports that it was on before the outbreak of the corona pandemic—prior to the coronavirus outbreak at the end of February in Pakistan, exports were on an upward trajectory and it was reflected in an increase of 14pc in dollar terms during the month compared to the same period of last year.

Gonzalo Varela

**A**s the 'great lockdown' emerged from the global Covid-19 pandemic, it is continuing to devastate communities and jobs, challenge businesses that struggle to survive, and strain fiscal space of governments working to protect both lives and livelihoods. Global trade is heavily impacted as governments took swift measures to stymie the outbreak, declaring partial or total lockdown measures in countries around the world that have not yet been completely lifted. Pakistan is not immune to the economic shock caused by the coronavirus, and its exports have been hit hard. Last May, the country recorded \$1.39 billion in merchandise exports, the lowest number in years and a 34 percent drop from a year ago. Short-term global trade prospects don't offer room for optimism as maritime traffic analyses, a good predictor of trade flows, forecast contractions in exports in the months ahead. At such a time, exports are crucial to Pakistan's recovery for several

reasons.

First, exports in Pakistan are labour-intensive and provide plenty of good jobs for Pakistanis.

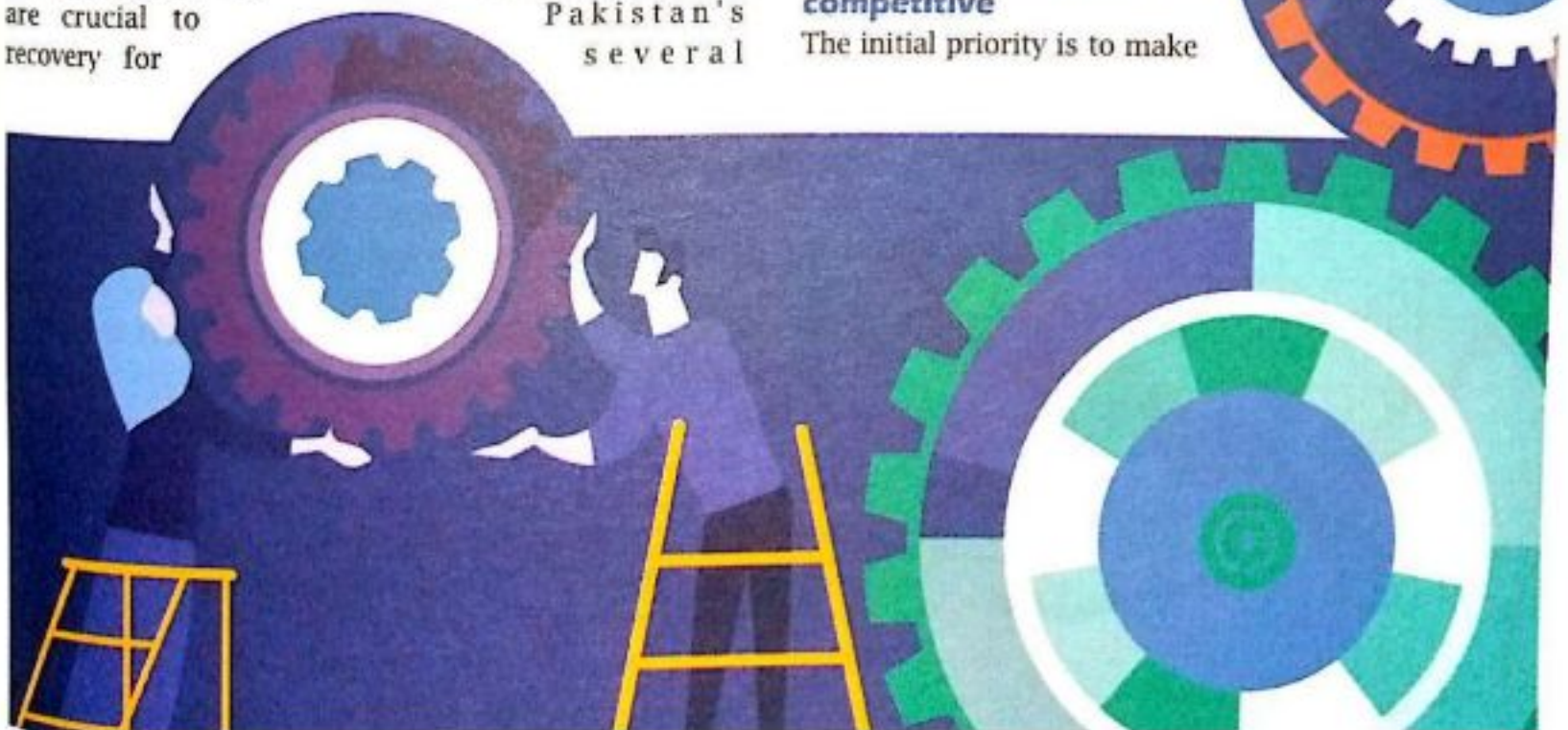
Second, exports offer a genuine boost to otherwise stagnant productivity as Pakistani exporters are 25 percent more productive than non-exporting firms, and their productivity grows as exports pick up.

Third, exports are a good source of foreign currency to pay for imports.

Last, the world economy is 258 times larger than Pakistan's, making the global marketplace an inevitable destination for Pakistani firms, and offering vast opportunities for Pakistani firms to scale up. Here are four actions to help Pakistan speed up its export recovery.

### 1. Make exports competitive

The initial priority is to make





exports competitive is to ease up import restrictions. For this, firms need to import inputs to export competitively.

The success of the recently announced industrial strategy 'Make in Pakistan' relies mainly on the ability of Pakistani producers to access raw materials and intermediate inputs at world prices. For example, for a potential Pakistani maker of N95 masks, this means the elimination of tariffs, regulatory duties and additional customs duties on melt-blown fibre, that currently stand at 12 percent. And, if 'Make in Pakistan' is to be successfully complemented by a 'Sell to the World' initiative, import duties on final goods will also need to fall gradually.

With effective rates of protection at 261 percent for food processing, for example, it is unlikely that Pakistani makers will go global anytime soon, since they will prefer the cosiness of the highly-protected domestic market. In this way, import taxes are nothing but export taxes in disguise. Introducing sunset clauses to tariff protection is the key to eliminating the anti-export bias.

## 2. Promote exports smartly and proactively

Covid-19 did not just reduce export flows; it broke many of the underlying buyer-seller links. Large global buyers like JC Penney and J. Crew, which filed for bankruptcy or stopped their operations, have left many Pakistani exporters without clients. Helping firms seek new ones needs to be policy priority.

Finding new trading partners will take time and money. In the past, trade fairs and exhibitions would offer business matchmaking platforms for producers and their prospective clients. But Covid-19 has upset such opportunities. And in the same way, people discovered they can run their meetings from their living rooms, buyers and sellers will, too, opt for remote business meetings.

The Trade Development Authority of Pakistan



(TDAP) should take note of this fast-changing reality and leverage artificial intelligence and big data to help exporters harness the potential of online marketing platforms.

## 3. Helping firms comply with international standards

In addition, it is critical that Pakistan help its firms comply with international standards and secure the right certifications to prove it.

Pakistan has a comparative advantage in the personal protective

## E-Commerce Policy

The Cabinet of Pakistan approved Pakistan's first-ever e-Commerce Policy in October 2019 thereby according to a long due recognition to an important segment of the economy. E-Commerce in Pakistan is at a nascent stage, with modest internet retail sales, despite 161 million cellular subscribers, 70 million 3G/4G subscribers, 72 million broadband subscribers, and total teledensity of 76.56 percent, as of July 2019. However, it is an emerging sector with a noticeable surge in recent past in online vendors, local e-Commerce platforms, and online payment facilities introduced by banks and large cellular companies. According to the State Bank of Pakistan, excluding Cash-on-Delivery (CoD) sales, e-Commerce sales stood at Rs 18.7 billion by the end of June 2018 while the total size of Pakistan's e-Commerce market in 2018 was Rs 99.3 billion. The number of registered e-Commerce merchants has risen by 2.6 times and e-Commerce payments have surged 2.3 times in just twelve months.

Formulation of the e-Commerce policy is a step in fulfilling the Government vision and commitment to effectively promote and encourage businesses, especially Micro Small and Medium enterprise (MSMEs) to go online and foster holistic growth of e-Commerce in Pakistan. The policy covers and provides guidelines on key components for the promotion of e-Commerce including the regulatory environment, financial inclusion, and digitization through payment infrastructure, empowering youth and SMEs, consumer protection, taxation, ICT infrastructure, logistics, data protection, and engagement in multilateral negotiations. Since its approval, the ecommerce policy has made headways in smoothening the e-commerce business environment in the country. For instance, freelancers' remittance limit has been enhanced from US\$ 5,000 to US\$ 25,000, IT companies and freelancers are now given better exchange rates for dollar in-line with the interbank rate offered to exporters & trade receivable of IT companies will now be used as collateral for loan procurement from commercial banks.





## NATIONAL

equipment (PPE) market. Many textile and apparel firms have adapted quickly to the Covid-19 crisis and shifted their production to face masks and shields for healthcare providers and frontline workers at home and abroad. But complying with strict health standards expected by clients is expensive.

When a Pakistani denim exporter decided to turn its materials into protective face shields, the company first got its fibres tested. However, not all tests that conform to standards set by the United States and Europe can be done in Pakistan—unlike in Turkey, one of the world's leading producers of medical personal protective equipment, where tests cost about \$6,000.

Since testing standards are non-negotiable in global markets, producers from across the world have seen their products turned down at the border of importing countries because they were not properly certified. These rejections create reputational risks for both exporters and their countries of origin. In that context, the Government of Pakistan needs to provide information about standards requirements and support the country's exporters to comply with them.

#### 4. Upgrading the regulatory environment

Last, with tele-work becoming a more prevalent reality, exports of services—and in particular of information technology (IT) and IT-enabled services (ITES)—will grow substantially. To take advantage of this trend, Pakistan needs to upgrade its regulatory environment.


To sustain growth in these sectors and encourage firms to

innovate in the industry, intellectual property needs to be adequately protected.

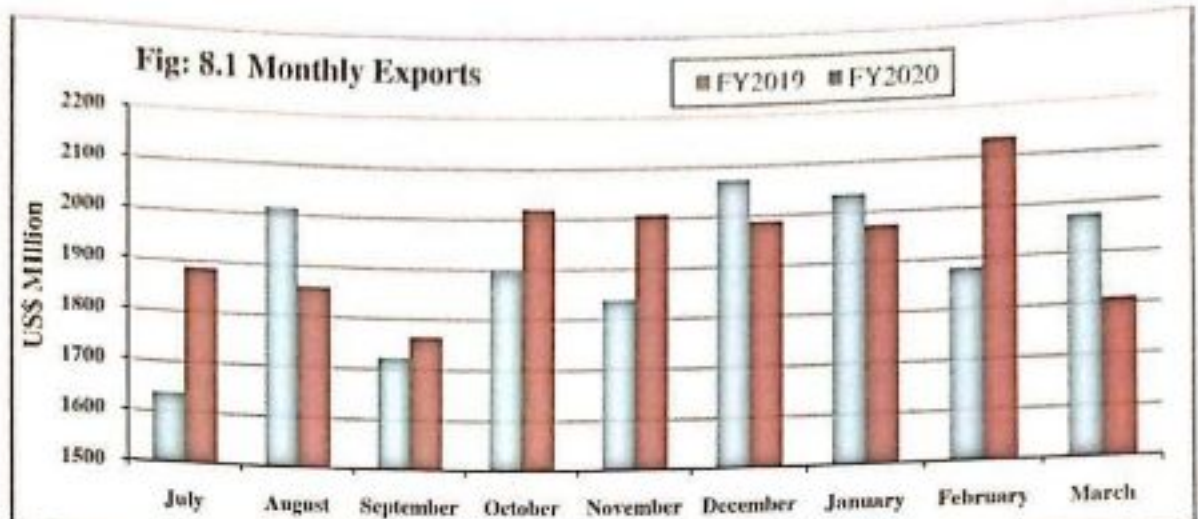
In a recent study, we conducted among IT and ITES firms in Pakistan, we found that three out of four exporting firms and almost two-thirds of non-exporting firms considered that insufficient intellectual property rights (IPR) in Pakistan is an obstacle for their business.

Growing in this segment will also require to facilitate the movement of talent in and out of Pakistan, expediting the issuing of business visas for foreigners coming into Pakistan, and actively negotiating expedited visa processes for Pakistani experts travelling to visit their clients.

The Covid-19 pandemic has brought in massive changes in the ways we interact, consume and produce. What hasn't changed is the need for more and better exports for Pakistan's growth and development.

The success of the 'Make in Pakistan' strategy, crucially depends on its complement 'Sell to the World'. This demands policymakers to lift all existing barriers to export, and industry leads to make smart decisions and take informed risks to venture into the global marketplace. 

*Courtesy: World Bank Group*



**Table 8.3: Major Exports Markets**

Country	Rs Billion & Percentage Share									
	2016-17		2017-18		2017-18		July-March			
	Rs	% Share	Rs	% Share	Rs	% Share	2018-19		2019-20 P	
USA	361.1	16.9	400.4	15.7	532.8	17.0	384.6	17.0	471	17.3
CHINA	153.8	7.2	185.7	7.3	259.6	8.3	180	8.0	219	8.0
AFGHANISTAN	133.1	6.2	165.2	6.5	176.4	5.6	128.5	5.7	115.6	4.2
UNITED KINGDOM	163.1	7.6	186.7	7.3	226.8	7.3	166.9	7.4	194.7	7.1
GERMANY	125.1	5.9	146.7	5.7	173.4	5.5	125.6	5.5	162.1	5.9
U.A.E	83	3.9	104	4.1	125.8	4.0	77.3	3.4	141.6	5.2
BANGLADESH	65.4	3.1	81	3.2	101.8	3.3	77.8	3.4	91.8	3.4
ITALY	68.6	3.2	84.5	3.3	107.4	3.4	74.3	3.3	92.4	3.4
SPAIN	85.5	4.0	104.5	4.1	126.5	4.0	93.2	4.1	109.2	4.0
FRANCE	38.8	1.8	45.5	1.8	53.9	1.7	39.1	1.7	44.8	1.6
All Other	860.7	40.3	1050.8	41.1	1243.8	39.8	916.4	40.4	1083	39.7
Total	2138.2	100.0	2555	100.0	3128.2	100.0	2263.7	100.0	2725.2	100.0



# IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF TAX AMNESTIES ON DOCUMENTING ECONOMY

Bilal Hassan



A tax amnesty contains one or more of the possibilities: partial or total forgiveness of tax liability; partial or total waiver of penalty and default surcharge; exemption

from criminal prosecution; payment of taxes in installments; and amnesty from or exclusion of a taxpayer from audit for a certain period of time.

So far, Pakistan has introduced sixteen tax amnesties. Among them, tax amnesties of 2018 and 2019 were the most comprehensive as they aimed, inter alia, at improving taxpayers' compliance to bring taxable persons in the tax net, and subsequently to oblige them to pay due tax through filing of tax returns.

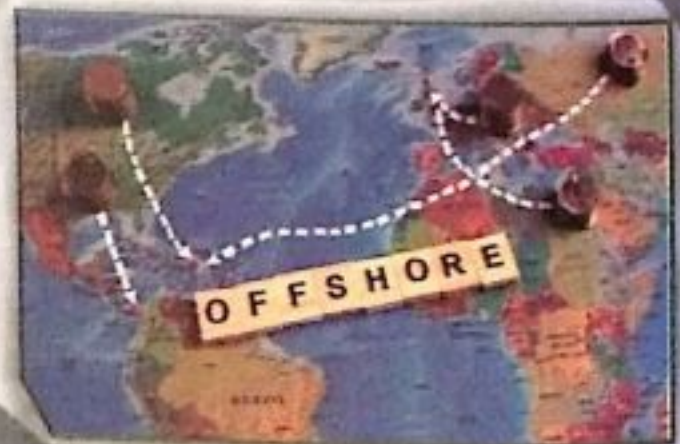
Tax amnesty under the Asset Declaration Ordinance, 2019, (ADO 2019) was implemented when tax-to-GDP ratio was only 13% and debt-to-GDP ratio was 72% at the end of 2018. The country was under obligation to pay \$ 2.346 billion in debt servicing during third quarter of 2019. There was massive corporate and non-corporate tax evasion in the country as the World Bank (WB) reported a 50% gap between actual and potential tax collection and reported that tax-to-GDP ratio could be boosted to 26% by raising compliance level

up to 75% and that too without imposing additional taxes.

Similarly, offshore tax evasion was also considerable as collective wealth of Pakistani nationals hidden overseas was estimated at between \$300 and \$500 billion. The Panama Papers and the Paradise Papers included 450 and 193 Pakistanis, respectively, who together owned as much as 5% of the total amount of \$10 trillion hidden in global wealth.

High level of tax non-compliance could be estimated from the fact that tax collection with returns has been extremely low and more than 70% of total income tax collection is being realized through withholding tax regime.

Additionally, capacity of tax authorities to ensure effective enforcement of tax laws is limited. Individuals with high net worth are



Tax amnesties are introduced, largely, to allow for inclusion of non-documented economy in a country's taxation system by encouraging taxable persons to declare unreported or under-reported foreign as well as domestic assets, to revive economy and spur growth by encouraging a tax-compliant economy, to raise tax revenue for fiscal consolidation, to broaden the tax base for efficient and equitable taxation, and to improve tax compliance in the backdrop of weak enforcement due to limited tax capacity of tax authorities.





hardly taxed according to their ability to pay. The reliance of the government for balancing budgets remains on indirect taxes and withholding taxes.

Through tax amnesty of 2019, the citizens were allowed to declare undisclosed foreign and domestic assets and income, as well as undeclared sales tax expenditures. To ensure successful implementation of tax amnesties and to document economy, the government and tax authorities made earnest efforts. The tax authorities informed taxable persons that under the OECD Multilateral Convention on Mutual Administrative Assistance in Tax Matters and the OECD Multilateral Competent Authority Agreement on Automatic Exchange of Financial Account Information, the FBR has been collecting from, and providing financial account information to, foreign tax jurisdictions, taxable persons failing to avail themselves of tax amnesty under the ADO 2019 were liable to face potential civil, tax and criminal penalties for non-reporting assets.

Moreover, significant legislative changes were introduced to the Income Tax Ordinance, 2001 (ITO 2001) and the Income Tax Rules, 2002 (ITR 2002) by removing time limitation for probing sources of foreign assets, investments and expenditures. Additionally, immunity from probing foreign remittances has been limited to Rs 5 million per annum. Any amount received beyond this threshold will be liable to be probed and taxed from tax year 2019 onwards. Similarly, filing of foreign income and asset statement is mandatory, and failure to file or disclose foreign assets in the statement will attract penalty of 2% of the value of the asset or income for each year of default. The Benami Transactions (Prohibition) Act, 2017, and the Benami Transactions (Prohibition) Rules, 2019,

were promulgated in the beginning of 2019. Strict punishments for persons entering into benami transactions were provided under the law.

More importantly, tax evasion has been included in the list of predicate offences to be investigated and prosecuted under the provisions of the Anti-Money Laundering Act, 2010. The punishments for predicate offences under section 4 of the AMLA were imprisonment of a minimum of one year and up to 10 years, fine of up to Rs 1 million, which may be increased to Rs 5 million in the case of a company and every director, officer or employee of the company, and forfeiture of property involved in money laundering.



After launching tax amnesty under ADO 2019, the Prime Minister repeatedly made requests to the people to declare their undisclosed assets. The tax authorities, too, undertook substantial measures to facilitate taxable persons in filing declarations and paying taxes under the ADO 2019. The FBR published frequently asked questions (FAQs), online user guides

and all relevant documents on its website for guidance of taxable persons.

Within a short period of about one and a half month, about 124,118 individuals made declarations under the ADO 2019 and 114,228 individuals paid taxes with the declarations while 9,890 individuals opted for late tax payment with default surcharge. Total assets worth Rs 3 trillion were documented under the ADO 2019 and tax revenue fetched by the government was Rs 65.8 billion. ■

*The writer serves as Additional Director Intelligence and Investigation (IR), Federal Board of Revenue.*



# Pakistan's Economic Prosperity

## 10 focus areas to spur growth

In times of political manoeuvrings and the understandable focus on the Covid-19 crisis, it is important to remind ourselves that we still need an economic system that provides prosperity to our people. Here are top ten most important things for the Government of Pakistan to get right in order to have sustained economic growth.

Hamna Yousaf

### 1. Reform the energy sector

The government needs to introduce market-based reforms in the energy as well as petroleum sector based on a transfer of control over the distribution infrastructure to provinces. The government has to move away from actively participating in markets to a role of a regulator of markets through empowered institutions that encourage competition.

### 2. Establish science-based institutions

These knowledge spillovers will be critical to support long-term productivity growth. The government should also support e-learning and upgrade the primary and secondary school curriculum to include problem-solving (logic/mathematics), critical thinking/reasoning (science/philosophy), creative expression (art and humanities) and principle-based decision-making (values/ethics).

### 3. Price water usage and end subsidies

Water is already scarce in Pakistan as we have less than 1000 cubic metres per capita of it, yet we are producing water thirsty, low value-added crops which can easily be imported, and yet, at the same time, we are importing water value-added crops like vegetables and legumes. The government needs to increase the tax net through proper documentation whilst reducing taxes on the formal sector.

### 4. Expand the tax net

Expanding the tax net through proper documentation whilst reducing taxes on the formal sector will help access to formal financing for the SMEs, which currently account for only 5 percent of bank financing. The government also needs to push for the elimination of the practice of double bookkeeping as well as encouraging greater use of technology-based solutions, which will lead to more productivity gains.

### 5. Diversify and expand exports

Cotton textiles and foods still account for over 70 percent of Pakistan's exports. The government should create specialised industrial zones that will be based on manufacturing of goods to export but for new products and markets. Also, the government needs to support the development of formalised information technology services export sector through a cluster approach. We need to target an exports-to-import

ratio of 2, from the current 0.5.

### 6. Develop digital infrastructure

Every 10 percent increase in broadband penetration increases GDP growth by 1.2 percent. Fixed-line broadband penetration is still only 0.25 percent of the population. Over 50 million people live in areas that have 3G or 4G cellular coverage but still do not have access to a smartphone. This needs to change.

### 7. Introduce market-based reforms in transport sector

Currently, about 92 percent of all land transport is through trucks, which is among the highest in the world. Poor logistical efficiency leads to a loss of competitiveness for local industries, poor city planning, environmental degradation and poorer living standards.

### 8. Encourage tourism

There is a tremendous opportunity in this sector, given Pakistan's natural, historical, religious and cultural assets. The potential for large-scale employment and foreign exchange inflows through tourism is enormous, yet a total of 17,823 tourists visited Pakistan in 2019 compared to 1.9 million visiting Sri Lanka, 10 million India, and 39 million Thailand.


### 9. Real estate sector

Propensity for real estate to be used to park black money artificially increases asset prices, thereby reducing the ability for people to buy homes through mortgages. Pakistan has one of the highest home price-

to-annual income ratio at 11:1 versus 8.35 for the UK, even though interest rates are much lower there. The government should consider federal insurance schemes to kick-start mortgage-based financing.

### 10. Invest in environmental and social assets

Pakistan is the 7th most vulnerable country to the effects of climate change and has one of the lowest forest cover—currently at 2 percent of our land area. Furthermore, the health impact of a poor environment is large due to poor water and air quality-related medical issues, especially amongst the most vulnerable segments of the population. About 75 percent of medical issues in children in Pakistan are due to water- and airborne diseases.

In addition, greater involvement of women in the labour force will also drive economic growth. The female labour force participation rate in Pakistan is 18 percent versus 59 percent in Thailand. 

*The writer is a student of PU, Lahore.*





Disasters are inevitable. They are bound to strike in every country or region of the world. We cannot preemptively eliminate the ever-looming threats of devastation and destruction. What matters the most is the effectiveness of the disaster management system of the affected country. The way a state prepares for the disaster, responds to the calamity, mobilizes resources to mitigate its impacts, helps the affected communities recover from post-disaster trauma and assists the calamity-stricken people in rebuilding their lives, determines the overall quality of its disaster management system.

By dint of geographical, socioeconomic and demographic factors, Pakistan is one of the most disaster-vulnerable countries in the world. This vulnerability warrants thorough discussion vis-à-vis the institutional capacity of Pakistan to effectively cope with various kinds of natural and manmade hazards.



## DISASTER Management Regime in Pakistan

Aftab H. Wahla



Before we dwell on the organizational setting of Pakistan, it seems pertinent to understand what a 'disaster' actually is so as to have a better picture of the disaster management regime in Pakistan.

As per National Disaster Management Authority Act, 2010, (hereinafter the Act) a disaster is a "catastrophe or calamity in an affected area, arising from natural or manmade causes or by accidents which result in a substantial loss of lives or human suffering or damage to, and destruction of, property." In other words, disasters are such large-scale emergencies or calamities that cause terrible human sufferings or create such human needs that cannot be alleviated or catered for without assistance. As the Act hints, disasters can be natural like earthquakes, floods, cyclones, droughts, flash floods, avalanches, heat waves, landslides, tsunamis, wildfires, storms, epidemics, plagues, or they can be manmade like industrial or nuclear accidents of mass

scale, bomb explosions, civil unrest, fires, etc. Disasters cause serious damage to growth and development of the affected country as it has to mobilize resources to carry out various disaster-management activities. In view of the strategic significance of disaster-risk management, governments enact institutional arrangements in order to devise, supervise and assess, and review the whole cycle of disaster management: preparedness, mitigation, risk reduction, relief and rehabilitation.

Given the physiographic and demographic vulnerability of Pakistan, the Act was passed in 2010 and subsequently, National Disaster Management Commission, under the chairmanship of Prime Minister, was established. In order to execute the decisions approved by NDMC, National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) was also established. Now Pakistan has a three-tiered disaster management regime: national, provincial and district. NDMA was envisioned to ensure national-level coordination in the





whole spectrum of disaster management activities (preparation, response, recovery and reconstruction). NDMA is also legally mandated to act as executive arm of NDMC in order to implement approved policies and plans, and offer technical and material assistance to the provincial disaster management authorities (PDMAs). Succinctly, NDMA is legally, administratively, financially, operationally a fully empowered federal body.

Now we look at the efficiency of NDMA vis-à-vis its handling of two crises—Covid-19 and locust attack—and suggest some remedial measures to further enhance our disaster prevention and management capabilities. The analysis will be made in the perspective of all aspects of disaster management activities.

Covid-19 pandemic came as a bolt from the blue. Having originated from Wuhan, China in late 2019, it continues to wreak havoc on the world economy and finance.

Conservative estimates suggest that the world has suffered losses to the tune of \$1 trillion. In addition, with over 567,900 deaths and 12.8 million infected patients worldwide, Covid-19 has become a once-in-a-century medico-economic disaster the like of which has never been seen since 1918 Spanish Flu. First case of Covid-19 in Pakistan was reported on February 26, 2020. But, the trail of destruction it left does demand critical evaluation of the effectiveness of the disaster management regime in Pakistan.

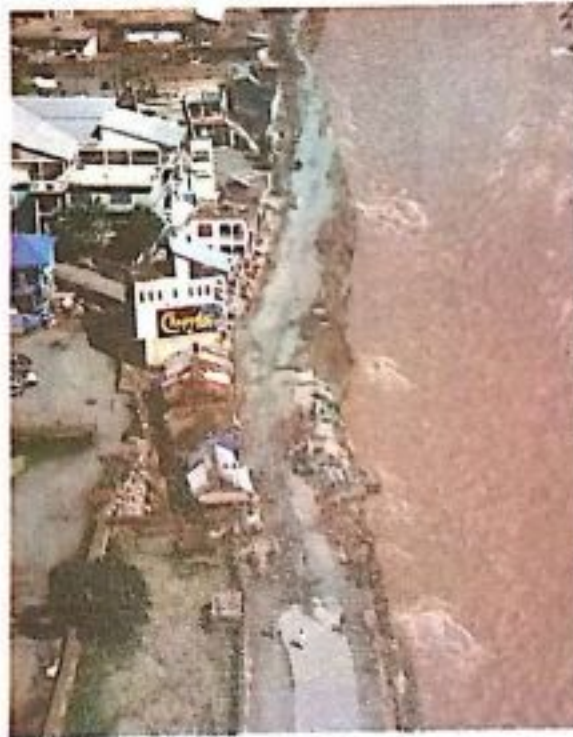
Preparation or preparedness is a key ingredient of disaster management process. Preparation refers to undertaking all measures before the disaster strikes. Optimum preparation ensures accurate prediction regarding the extent and scale of disaster, holistic response, mitigation of the impacts and effective recovery and reconstruction. Preparation involves training, planning, designing of the coordination mechanism for institutional synergy, establishment of reliable communication channels with international assistance organizations and ICT-based centralized decision-making mechanism. When Covid-19 was reported in Pakistan, the gravity of the threats it could pose had already become evident to the authorities. There was no ambiguity over the mode of transmission of the virus, despite that the incumbent government took no particular interest in preparing the state institutions to handle the looming threat. National Plan (a legal obligation under article 10(1) of the Act) was designed on

March 13, 2020, but that was not followed by provinces (another violation of article 17(1) and 21(1)). The NDMA failed to stockpile personal protective equipment (PPE), N95 masks and other vital resources. The purchasing and maintenance of life-saving machines like ventilators, oxygenated beds, required numbers of isolation wards and quarantine were also neglected to a large extent. Resultantly, when cases started to spike, there was haphazard and incoherent response. Article 27 of the Act mandates the federal government to establish a National Disaster Response Unit for specialized response to the threatening disasters, but, like in many other cases before, the government failed to fulfil this legal obligation also.

Response is another critical element of the disaster management spectrum. Response is a combination of those measures which are taken immediately before and

after the disaster. Such steps are directed towards saving lives and protecting properties. Effectiveness of the response has direct bearing on the subsequent recovery and reconstruction activities. Well-targeted and efficient response depends upon information and resources. On the back of poor public awareness, lack of adequate policy direction and virtually zero information regarding behaviour of Covid-19, under-resourced and poorly-equipped healthcare system, handicapped horizontal and vertical coordination mechanism, dysfunctional local governments and, most importantly, absence of pandemic-handling expertise, the NDMA started responding to the pandemic with limited resources.

Given the medical nature of the crisis, NDMA, in collaboration with other stakeholders, started working on the revamping of our healthcare system. Situation was so dire at the start that Pakistan had to import testing kits, PPE and vital drugs. With the active participation of the Ministry of Science and Technology, Pakistan developed its indigenous testing kits, thereby enhancing per-day testing capacity from zero to 70,000. In a significant technological leap, Pakistan manufactured its first batch of ventilators and handed it over to health authorities via NDMA. After initial hiccups and disorderly response, NDMA is now coming up with a systematic and coordinated response. Every disaster creates an information explosion that requires institutional information-processing mechanisms. National Command and Operation Centre is one such initiative that





has streamlined the information management (acquisition, assessment, decision-making and dissemination thereupon). NCOC is now implementing various initiatives to flatten the curve. Since Covid-19 is essentially a medico-economic crisis, the government responded with multiple economic packages to maintain balance between fatalities and economic recession. Rs. 1.2 trillion worth economic stimulation and relief package; distribution of Rs.194 billion worth Ehsaas emergency direct cash assistance to the workers of various informal and formal sectors; deferment of monthly and quarterly fuel adjustment in electricity bills for three months for lower domestic and industrial consumers with estimated financial impact of Rs.381 billion; rapid development of second phase of CPEC; and most significantly, imposition of NCOC-backed smart lockdown to secure twin objectives of containment of pandemic and economic revival are some of the measures in socioeconomic realm whereby government has sought to mitigate the impacts of the Covid-19 disaster.

Recovery and reconstruction are also important pillars of the disaster management process (NDMA-Act, article 1). Recovery is the process by which affected communities are assisted in returning to their proper level of functioning post-disaster. Since Covid-19 crisis cannot be resolved without the mass-availability of the vaccine—which is unlikely to hit the market before June, 2021—effective recovery will require an adjustable and flexible strategy. In terms of economic recovery, the government has undertaken a series of steps to restore pre-pandemic economic hustle and bustle. PM Imran Khan's appeal to the world for suspension of debt-servicing for less-developed countries helped Pakistan save \$2.4 billion for current year; sudden rise in the export of PPE (\$500 million by the end of 2020) is set to provide buffer to export sector; smart lockdown is helping to move the wheel of the economy while maintaining check on uncontrolled explosion of infections; on the pattern of US President Roosevelt's New Deal, PM's construction policy with Rs.330 billion mortgage financing is expected to spur economic growth of Pakistan, thereby alleviating the liquidity crunch being felt across the economic spectrum; as expansionary monetary policy to end economic slowdown, SBP slashed cumulatively 6.25% interest in six months, thereby offering loans to commercial banks at 7%. In addition, as a step to support SMEs, the government has announced a special discount rate for these entrepreneurs and allowed them to resume their operations with strict adherence to SOPs.

The infestation of Desert Locust has emerged as a crisis



within the crisis. The plague, which has now infested more than 23 countries in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, is evolving into existential threat for the regions already struggling to contain the Covid-19 pandemic. According to the World Bank, a small swarm (1km<sup>2</sup>) can have 80 million locusts, and can consume as much food as required by 35000 people. By all accounts, desert locusts are the most destructive migratory pest whose impacts on food cycle could drastically threaten livelihood, erode people's savings and push them further into poverty. Pakistan, by the dint of its geographical location (it sits on the migratory route of the insects) and anticipated above-normal monsoon, is particularly vulnerable to the plague. An estimated 38% of the country's total area is the breeding ground of the locusts. The Ministry of Food Security has estimated that ongoing locust infestation can cause losses to the range of Rs. 490 billion to Rs. 2451 billion, depending upon various atmospheric conditions and interventions.

Now we look at how the Government of Pakistan is handling the locust disaster in the perspective of disaster management.

At the preparation level, the concerned department, i.e. Department of Plant Protection, was awfully unprepared and ill-equipped. The department, which was created exclusively for locust survey and control in 1950, now also has pesticide regulatory duties that have seriously eroded its capabilities to handle such a crisis. Despite the fact that infestation started plaguing Pakistan in June 2019, the department failed to mobilize its resources in anticipation of the bigger swarms. Had the departments demanded timely allocation of sufficient resources, or imported necessary equipment or arranged training or induction of the pilots, the situation would have been much different than what we are seeing today. Resource constraints can be gauged from the fact that DPP, which once had a sizable aircraft fleet of 20 plus, started aerial spray with two planes. Poor maintenance and lack of experience resulted in the crash of the one plane during



anti-locust operation and DPP was left with a single pilot to spray millions of acres, which required at least twenty planes, for ensuring effective control strategy. Another instance of negligence is the devising of the National Plan after a lapse of seven months, and that is also not being followed up with provincial and district level plans. The much-needed multi-institutional collaboration could also not be established till the declaration of national emergency in February 2020. Briefly speaking, inadequate preparation and preventive measures on the part of DPP are one of the many factors that are exacerbating the situation caused by infestation of locusts.

On the response level, control measures were slow, reactionary, piecemeal and delayed. The head-in-sand approach did not help the country. Had the DPP taken multiple desperate warnings from Balochistan senators and MNAs seriously, and launched surveillance and control actions accordingly, the crisis could not have blown out of proportion. Today, locust plague has spread to 52 districts and all provinces have reported its presence. Initially, pesticides were imported from China, an aircraft was arranged from Turkey

and the army was requested to provide helicopters in order to treat infested areas, however, response became holistic and systematic later. As per National Locust Control Center, nearly 400,000 sq km area has been surveyed and treatment has been applied on 10526 sq km area. Pesticides are being applied with the help of four aircraft. Given the transnational nature of threat, Pakistan invoked FAO's Southwest Asia Commission in March and under

this multilateral arrangement, Pakistan, India and Iran are sharing data regarding swarm movement and size. Fortunately, below-than-expected rainfall in Balochistan helped dry out the vegetation and Pakistan has avoided colossal losses, but FAO's latest warning has raised the alarm bells. As per the warning, Pakistan is going to face another locust attack from Iranian border, and change in wind direction could push locust swarms, currently present in India, back to Pakistan. Period from July 15 to September 15 has been declared as crucial for the food security of the region. Given the strategic location of Pakistan on migratory route of upcoming swarms, the World Bank has provided \$200 million worth assistance package to contain the spread of locusts. As far as inter-institutional coordination is concerned, Ministry of Science and Technology has launched indigenously-manufactured drones equipped with mapping and sensing technology to treat the affected areas in most efficient and effective manners. NDMA and Army are

helping DPP to undertake preventive and curative measures to eliminate the worst plague infestation in 27 years.

Effective recovery hinges on the accurate assessment of the damage the plague has caused to the crops and pastures. Since we are in the throes of the crisis, and the well-targeted assistance is being hampered by Covid-19-caused restrictions on the transport and trade, it is too early to portray the accurate losses. The government is yet to announce financial relief packages to the affected farmers, though PM Imran Khan has hinted at preparation of an emergency cash program on the pattern of Ehsaas Initiative. The proposed program must also include distribution of agricultural inputs like certified seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and livestock feed to the affected communities. Reconstruction requires long-term and sustained efforts to increase the early warning and preparedness capabilities of the Department of Plant Protection. Conditional cash support to farmers for ploughing the affected land to eradicate locust eggs before hatching; and conduct of

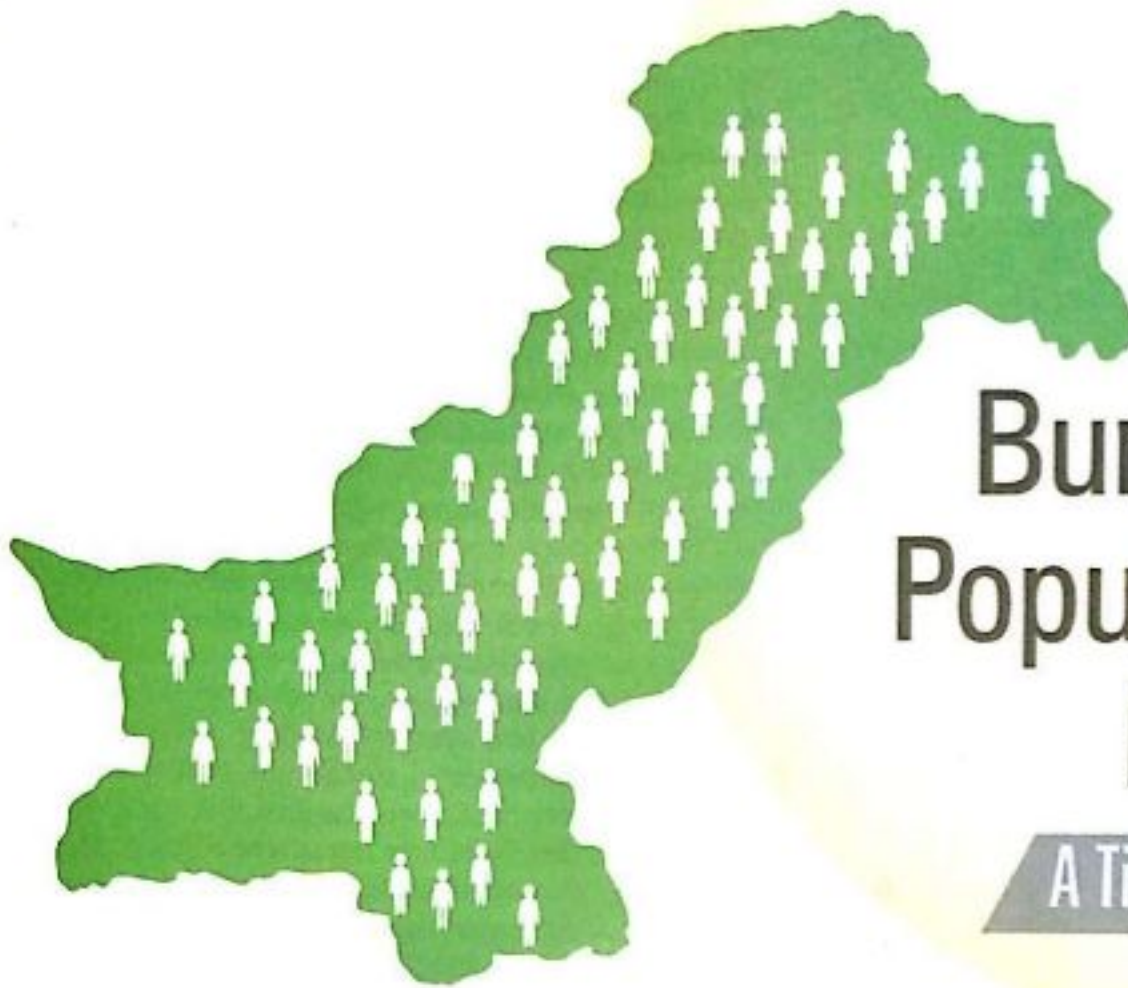


training to farmers regarding Integrated Crop Management and Integrated Pest Management must be the integral pillar of the reconstruction.

Disaster management has been the neglected aspect in the development strategy of Pakistan. Our policymakers have never realized that comprehensive development policy cannot be fully materialized unless we incorporate disaster management in long-term strategic policy formulation. Activation of local governments, establishment of specialized rapid disaster response teams, subordinate disaster management legislation and establishment of disaster risk reduction institutions at provincial level, inclusion of disaster management in the syllabi at various levels and institutionalized mechanism for community involvement would go a long way in strengthening the disaster management regime of Pakistan. ■

*The writer is a graduate of the University of Agriculture, Faisalabad. He writes on national and international affairs.*





# Burgeoning Population of Pakistan

## A Ticking Time Bomb?

Faridullah

**A**ccording to the latest estimates, population of Pakistan is around 221 million, making it the 5th most populous country in the world. Besides, Pakistan has the highest population growth rate among SAARC countries at 2.8% which means an addition of 3.6 million people every year.

Interestingly, young people make a major chunk of Pakistan's population. According to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Pakistan, 64% of the country's total population is below 30 years of age. It makes Pakistan one of the youngest countries in the world and second youngest in the South Asian region, after Afghanistan.

This huge youth bulge means Pakistan's population will continue to grow steeply for a long time to come. And if present trends continue, by mid of the ongoing century, according to the World Bank projections, Pakistan may have as many as 338 million people. While some health experts believe that if couples continue to have unplanned babies, Pakistan's population will double from the current 220 million to 440 million by 2055. The more the youth, the more the chances of rapid population growth, thus affecting the country directly.

Indubitably, youth has a critical impact on a country. If government invests in its youth through education, employment and other opportunities, and utilizes and

engages them properly, the youth can serve as a catalyst for development and prosperity of the country. More youth means larger young workforce, which brings additional earnings, which, in turn, could be a boost to a sagging economy. However, on the other hand, if not handled properly and not provided with meaningful engagement in society, the country may face disastrous consequences. Neglected and unemployed youth is more prone to destructive tendencies, and thus can disturb the law and order situation, rule of law, natural environment, and so on.

We are living in a century of population explosion where the time bomb of rising population is on ticking mode, and is approaching fast its threshold level. Our sheer indifference towards the issue—itsself an issue—has only made the situation worse. And, Pakistan still does not seem to have population control measures on its radar.



Due to one or another reason, Pakistan has not, regretfully, taken benefit from its youth bulge. A huge youth population is still uneducated, unskilled, marginalized and is alienated by, and frustrated with, the state policies. And, owing to the lack of resources Pakistan has, such a youth could be a burden on an already fragile economy.

Overpopulation has had effects not only on country's economy and resources but also on its law and order situation, employment, environment and climate change, flora and fauna, and natural habitats. Interestingly, the current Covid-19 pandemic, as some reports suggest, is also the result of overpopulation. According to an article published by Stephan McCarty in South China

Morning Post, Covid-19 pandemic is a human overpopulation problem. "This unchecked expansion into new habitats," he writes, "is bringing humans into increasing contact with wild animal pathogens against which we have no biological defences." He concludes: "We must stop proliferating." Thus, acting upon his advice, one must not lose interest in measures to control the burgeoning population so as to avoid negative impacts of overpopulation.

However, population control measures in Pakistan have not been considered as necessary as they should be. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), Pakistan, a rapidly-growing country with high fertility rate, has lower rate of access to birth-control devices than the regional average. Here, considered a taboo, advertisements regarding family planning and use of contraceptives have been banned on public media.

Moreover, a discussion about family planning always invites a barrage of criticism from the conservative and religious circles who think that population control is something programmed by anti-Islam forces that want to keep Muslim population in control. Lady health workers and other staff, especially in the countryside, are looked at with suspicion, as if they are spreading immorality and obscenity in simpleton womenfolk.

The conservatives take modern family planning as a Western ploy which transgresses Islam. They say one should reproduce as many babies as possible to increase the Muslim Ummah, which ought to be the duty of every faithful. And, if someone tells them about lack of resources for proper upbringing of a child, they say Allah

will provide the resources and no one will die of starvation. However, they should not ignore the fact that Allah has given us intellectual faculties using which one should cut one's coat according to one's cloth, and that Quran has also instructed that children must not be deprived of proper upbringing. In verse 233 of Surah Al-Baqarah (2:233) it has been ordained: "Mothers shall breastfeed their children for two whole years, for those who wish to complete the term."

Contrary to this, however, duration between two consecutive pregnancies in most cases is less than two years—37% of births still occur within 24 months of the last birth—depriving the children of their 2 years of complete breastfeeding, as the new pregnancy interferes with the breastfeeding and health of an already nursing child.

Unsurprisingly, according to the government's latest data, 33.3% of all children under 5 are underweight.

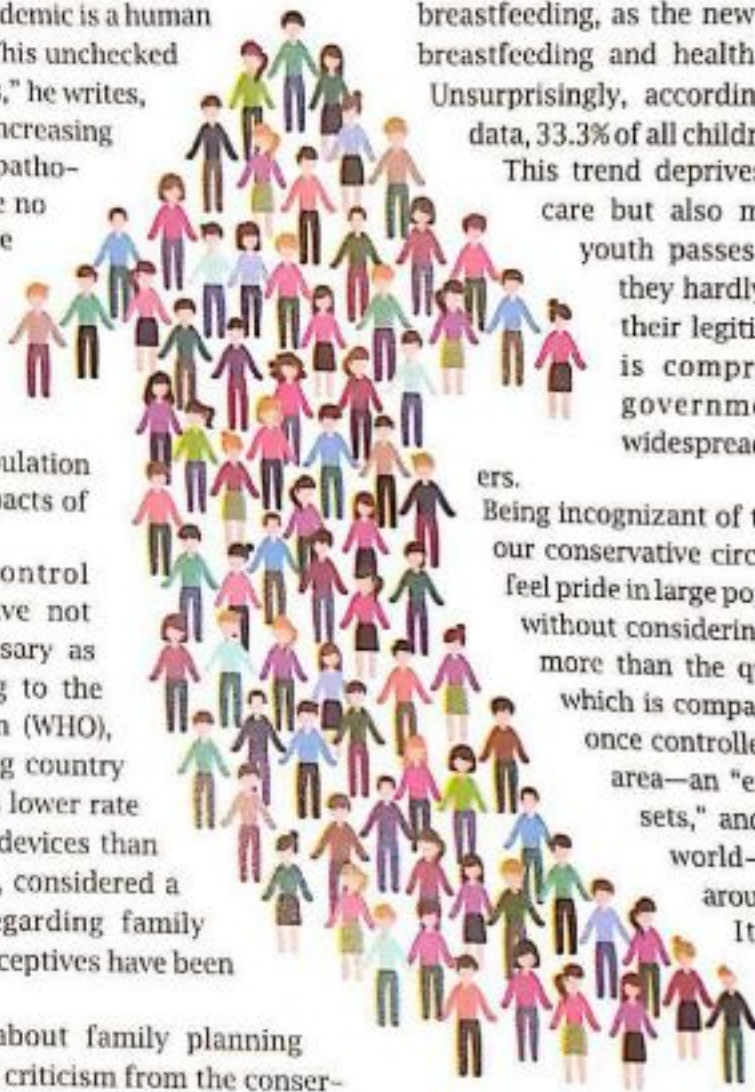
This trend deprives not only children of proper care but also mothers of their rights. Their youth passes in rearing the children, and they hardly have any free time to ask for their legitimate rights. Their health, too, is compromised. According to the government data, malnutrition is widespread among the Pakistani mothers.

Being incognizant of the menace of overpopulation, our conservative circles and mullahs complacently feel pride in large population to dominate the world without considering the fact that quality matters more than the quantity. The United Kingdom, which is comparatively a small country which once controlled 24% of the earth's total land area—an "empire on which the sun never sets," and still is a major power of the world—still it has a population of around 66 million.

It doesn't mean that large population cannot make any progress at all; look, for example, at China which is the world's most populous country

and the second biggest economy—it may overtake the United States around 2027—but even it had implemented an aggressive "One Child Policy" for decades. However, it managed its population and made investment in its youth, both of which, so far, have been absent in the case of Pakistan.

It would be unfair, however, to blame the masses wholly for abhorring family planning; our medical fraternity and the government, too, have not taken the matter seriously. Healthcare providers do not consider an exploding population an issue, let alone accepting the responsibility





of offering counselling and providing family planning to the general masses.

On their part, successive governments have failed to take any concrete actions for population control. Since Ayub Khan in the late 1950s, no Pakistani government has dared to promote family planning. In our parliament, even discussion on population control is something weird, let alone legislating on the same.

Though not under his jurisdiction, the former Chief Justice of Pakistan, Justice Mian Saqib Nisar, somehow highlighted the menace of overpopulation, citing it as "a bigger issue than water scarcity faced by Pakistan." However, since his departure, and due to myriad challenges the PTI government is faced with, the issue has been put on the backburner.

Population control is, thus, a serious task to be completed by both the people and the government. A devoted nation through collective efforts can keep in check the rapid increase in population. Take, for instance, the example of China's 'One Child Policy' (1980-2016), which led to the decline in China's overall rate of natural population increase.


As the Khan's government seems keen in learning from China's success story, it should introduce population-control policies like China did. For implementation and enforcement of the same, it should offer financial incentives and preferential employment opportunities to those who comply, and impose sanctions against those who do not.

However, formulation of any such policy, and its imple-

mentation thereupon, would be a herculean task unless religious scholars/clerics are taken on board. Indeed, Ulema can play a critical role in population control. Iran and Bangladesh have successfully campaigned population-control programmes from the pulpit, Pakistan should also emulate it and involve ulema and prayer leaders to promote the same.

Moreover, the Holy Quran should be interpreted according to the context and it require the interpreters to have a thorough knowledge of Arabic language and grammar, hadith and jurisprudence, awareness of scientific knowledge of hadith and psyche of contemporary world and its people. Surely, if properly followed, Quranic teachings about family planning would mean smaller families.

Educating youth, especially girls, is another viable policy option to reduce fertility rate—number of births per women. It creates awareness about family planning, and empowers women to take their own decisions. Take, for instance, the example of Sri Lanka, which has literacy rate of 91%, but fertility rate there is 2.3, as compared to Pakistan's 3.6. Lastly, the government should provide employment opportunities to the youth in order to benefit from its huge potential. The expanding young workforce, if managed properly, can bring additional earnings, which is good for the dwindling economy of Pakistan.

The population bomb, though seriously neglected since long, is ticking. Still having time, we should take preemptive steps to defuse it before it explodes. 

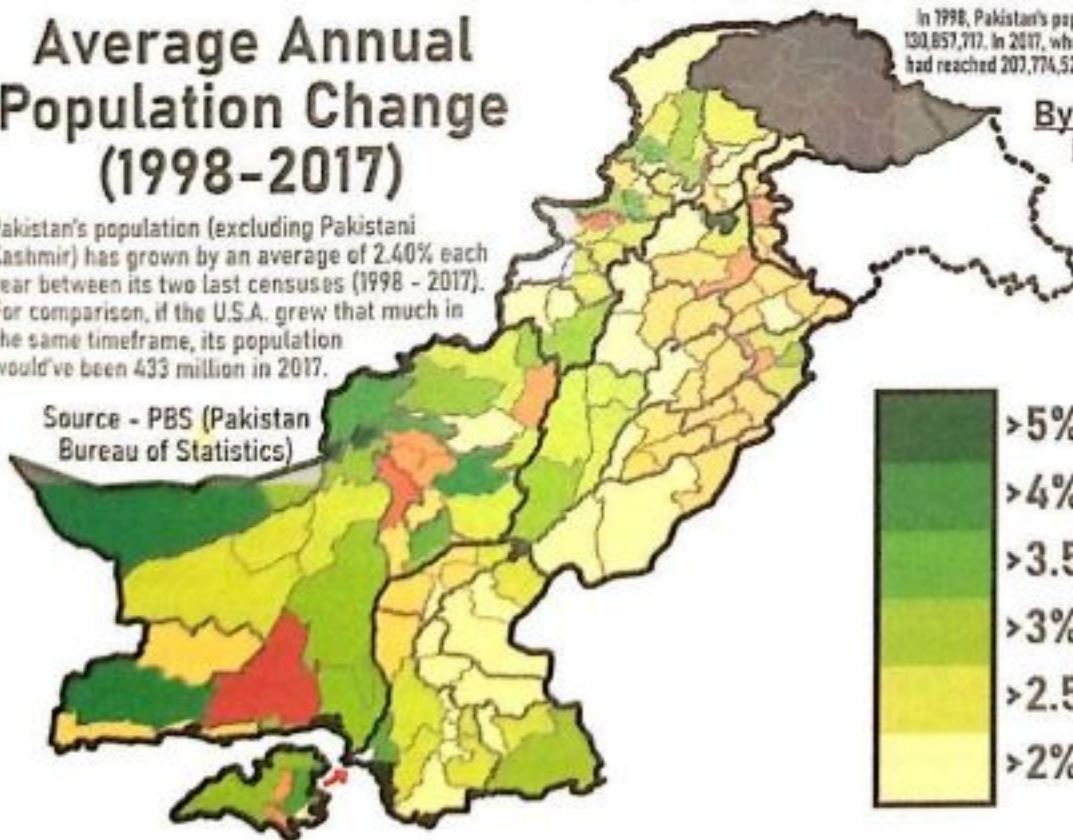
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## Average Annual Population Change (1998-2017)

Pakistan's population (excluding Pakistani Kashmir) has grown by an average of 2.40% each year between its two last censuses (1998 - 2017). For comparison, if the U.S.A. grew that much in the same timeframe, its population would've been 433 million in 2017.

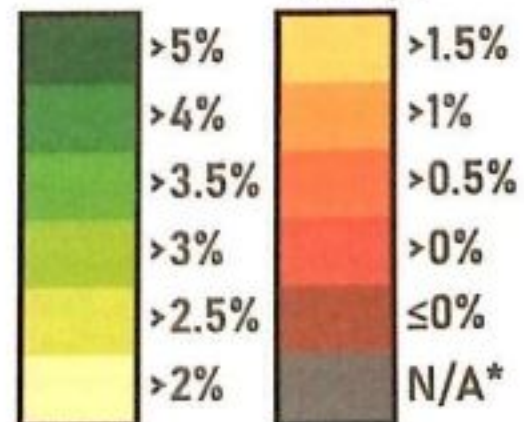
Source - PBS (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics)



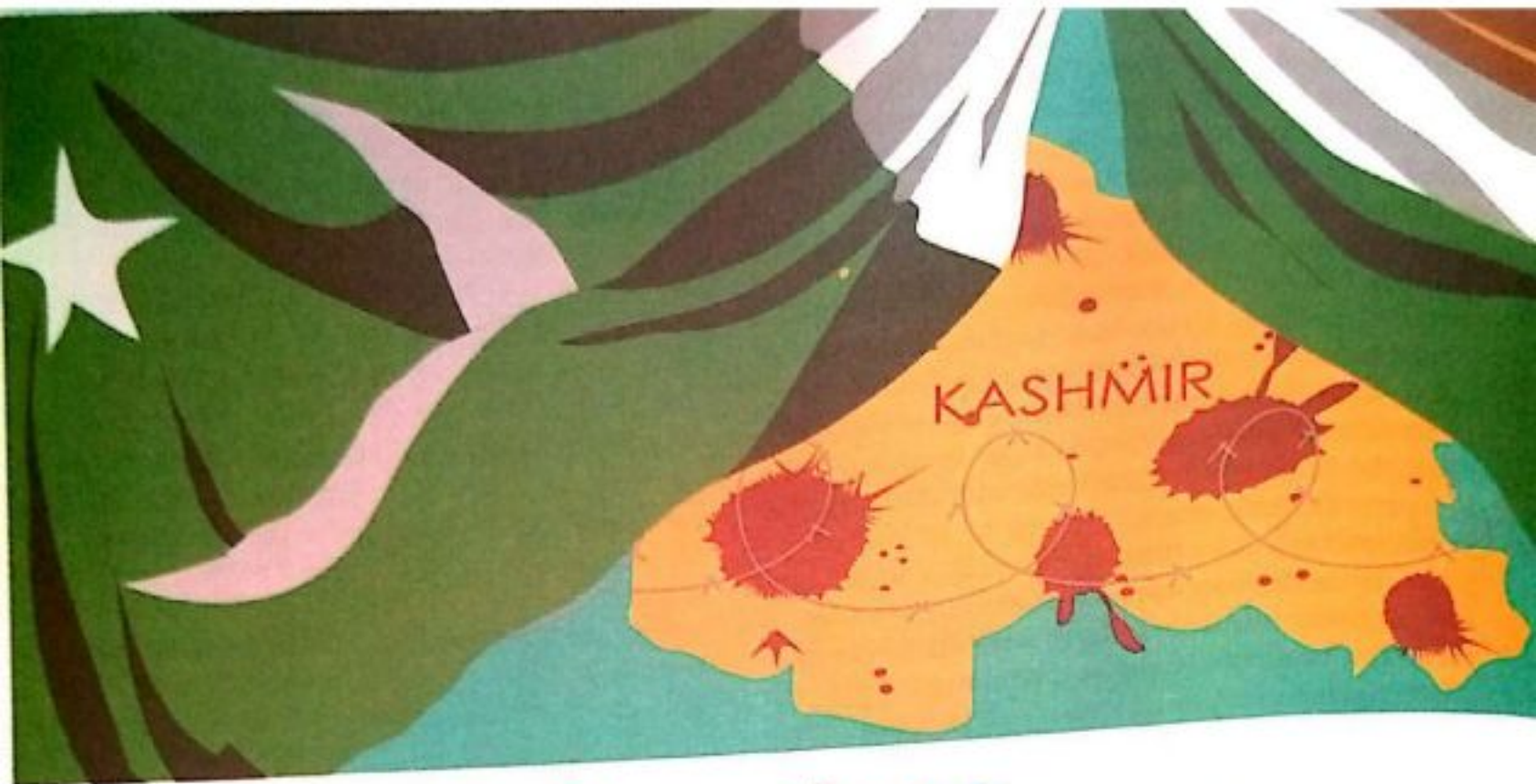
In 1998, Pakistan's population (excluding Pakistani Kashmir) was 130,857,717. In 2017, when the next census was taken, its population had reached 207,774,520. This was up 58.78% from the last census.

### By Administrative Unit

Balochistan - 3.37%
Sindh - 2.41%
Punjab - 2.13%
ICT - 4.91%
KPK - 2.89%
AJK - 1.63%
GB - N/A







# Kashmir Conundrum and the International Law

The scrapping of Article 370 and subsequent annexation and illegal occupation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir by India has, once again, brought into international limelight the seven-decade-old Kashmir issue, a prime cause of friction between two neighbouring nuclear states, i.e. India and Pakistan. Before this constitutional catastrophe, the occupied valley had special status, separate laws, constitution and the flag. The Modi government has revoked this special status but the step is in utter contravention of UNSC resolutions and international law.

Abdul Rasool Syed



This mala-fide move by Modi government is indubitably aimed at eclipsing the importance of the Kashmir issue by localizing it, and putting it, thereby, on the backburner. However, the irrefutable fact is that Kashmir is a disputed territory between India and Pakistan, and is recognized as such, without any reservation, by international community.

In the wake of the Indo-Pak partition, the princely states were given, under Article 2(4) of the Independence Act, a choice to join 'either of the new Dominions'. While it was an easy

decision for some states due to their geographical proximity, territorial contiguity or political and religious affiliation of the rulers and subjects, the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was a complex issue that would later emerge as a conundrum and a nuclear flashpoint between India and Pakistan.

Sifting through the annals of history, one finds that in the beginning, Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of the Jammu and Kashmir state, toyed with the idea of remaining independent. However, Indian machinations spearheaded by Congress leaders including Nehru and Patel

created such circumstances for Maharaja that he was left with no option but to capitulate to their demand of "Accession of State of Jammu and Kashmir to India". Hence, Maharaja, due to unwarranted conditions forged by the Machiavellian masterminds of Congress, had to agree to sign the instrument of accession to this effect. However, on October 27, 1947, the then-Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten, approved the accession with the condition that "as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir ... the question of the State's accession should be





settled by a reference to the people."

The purported Instrument of Accession (which India has so far failed to produce) denies the authority of any unilateral action by India. The terms of this Instrument would not be varied by any amendment to the Indian Independence Act, 1947, without acceptance of the ruler of the state (Clause 5). Further, nothing in the Instrument could have been deemed to be a commitment as to the acceptance of any future constitution of India, and nothing could affect the sovereignty of the Maharaja over the state (Clauses 7 and 8).

Insofar as the internationalization of the Kashmir issue is concerned, it is India that took the issue to international forum by knocking at the door of the UN Security Council back in 1948. Resultantly, the UNSC, via its Resolution 38, called upon the contending governments to refrain from aggravating the circumstances, and report any material changes on the ground. Thereafter, the Council issued, over a number of years, a total of 17 resolutions on the disputed status of Kashmir. UNSCR 47 of 1948, the most important of all

resolutions on Kashmir, calls for the resolution of the dispute of Kashmir's accession to either India or Pakistan through effecting the democratic means of a free and impartial plebiscite.

Simla Agreement is another worth-quoting document, as it is deemed as the premier bilateral accord between the warring nations. It holds that "principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the countries," hence shining light on the validity of the UNSC resolutions on Kashmir. The disputed nature of the issue is further reiterated as: "In Jammu and Kashmir, the Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971, shall be



respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side."

Moreover, the same Simla Agreement also forbids unilateral action to change the status of the occupied state. Clause 1(ii) of the agreement specifically states that neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation. Clause 6 further emphasizes that both the countries should discuss modalities for a final settlement of the issue through diplomatic means. Thus, India's claim that the revocation of Occupied Kashmir's 'special status' is its internal issue negates its commitments made in the agreement. Additionally, the right to self-

determination is the basic principle of the United Nations Charter, and it has been reaffirmed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and applied countless times to the settlement of international issues. The concept played significant role in post-World War I settlement, leading, for example, to plebiscite in a number of disputed areas.

However, the establishment of UN in 1945 gave a new dimension to the principle of self-determination. It was made one of the objectives which the UN would seek to achieve, along with equal rights for all nations.

The principle of self-determination and the maintenance of international peace and security are inseparable. For example, the denial of this right

to self-determination to the people of Kashmir has brought the two neighbouring countries in South Asia—India and Pakistan to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

Apart from the specific UN resolutions which guarantee Kashmiris the right to self-determination, the UN Charter in its Article 1(2) declared one of its purposes as, "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples." This serves as the biggest impetus to the said right under international law.

In 1952, the UN General Assembly further elaborated on this principle and stated in Resolution 637A(VII), that 'the right of peoples and nations to self-determination is a prerequisite to the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights' and recommended that UN members 'shall uphold the principle of self-determination of all peoples and nations'. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples enshrined in GA resolution 1514 of 1960 upheld the right to self-determination. The resolution explicitly says, "All peoples have the



right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development". Moreover, the principle of self-determination was given protection in Article 1 of both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). In 1966, these two covenants enshrined the self-determination principle verbatim as was laid in GA resolution 1514. The Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations (GA Resolution 2625 of 1970) went further in recognizing that peoples resisting forcible suppression of their claim to self-determination are entitled to seek and receive support in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Since the adoption of the Declaration in 1970, the ICJ has, on a number of occasions, confirmed that the principle of self-determination constitutes a binding norm of customary international law, and even a rule of jus

cogens—peremptory rule of international law. Thus, international law and the specific UNSC resolutions on Kashmir uphold and provide the Kashmiris with the overriding principle of right to self-determination. With the revocation of the state's 'special status', the situation has now become an 'occupation' with an 'unlawful annexation'. India is an Occupying Power and it has unlawfully annexed the state. From international legal opinion on the issue of self-determination, as developed in the aftermath of the Second World War and the process of decolonization, the fate of millions of people cannot be left to the whims of India. Given the UNGA resolution of 1960 concerning Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the people of Jammu and Kashmir have every right to self-determination. India has no title on the state under international law. India's illegal occupation since 1947; denial of the right to self-determination of the people; and application of India's constitution by removing the state's

special status, make India an Occupying Power and its army a hostile force. The BJP's recent attempt to integrate the territory of the state within the Union of India is an act of 'occupation' and 'illegal annexation'.

While commenting on Article 47 of the Geneva Convention IV, noted jurist Jean S. Pictet explains that the Occupying Power is the administrator of the territory and is under various positive obligations towards the Occupied Population (i.e. the Occupying Power cannot annex the Occupied Territory or change its political status). Jean elaborates that the Occupying Power must respect and maintain the political and other institutions of the Occupied Territory. Therefore, India being an Occupying Power cannot annex the state's territory and is bound to keep the state's institutions and territorial boundaries intact till the conduct of plebiscite under the UNSC resolution of 1948.

The International Commission of Jurists has categorically stated that "the Indian government's revocation of the autonomy and special status of Jammu and Kashmir violates the rights of representation and participation guaranteed to the people [of Jammu and Kashmir] under ... international law".

To cap it all, the world powers should take a leaf from the statement made on June 15, 1962, by American representative to the UN, Adlai Stevenson. He said, "The best approach is to take for a point of departure the area of common ground which exists between the parties. I refer, of course, to the resolutions which were accepted by both parties and which in essence provide for demilitarization of the territory and a plebiscite whereby the population may freely decide the future status of Jammu and Kashmir."

*The writer is a legal practitioner-cum-columnist based in Quetta.*



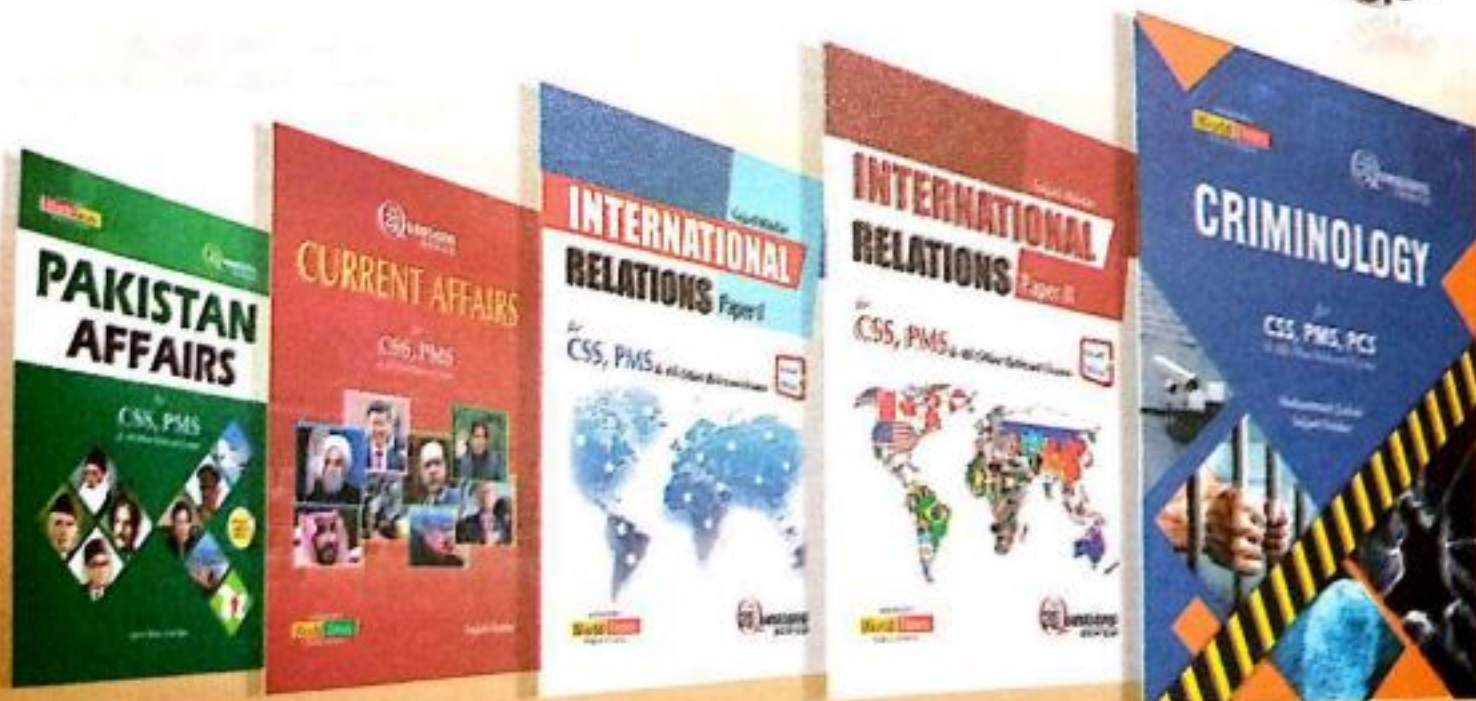


# OUR LATEST PUBLICATIONS



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Hard power was once considered one of the basic tools of foreign policy projection in the world. However, with the rise of globalization and information revolution in post-Cold War era, the term 'soft power' started gaining momentum. The term was popularized by a noted American political scientist Joseph Samuel Nye Jr. in his 1990 book 'Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power.' In this book, he wrote: 'when one country gets other countries to want what it wants might be called co-optive or soft power in contrast with the hard or command power of ordering others to do what it wants'.

# Promote Tourism to Project Soft Power

## Pakistan needs to cash in on the opportunity

Mian Majid Ali Afzal



In the context of Pakistan, the elements of national power, e.g. geographic location, military, nuclear power, diplomacy, governance and leadership, resilience, agriculture and natural resources, population, religion, cultural diversity, information technology, etc. have great potential for growth and these can massively supplement the efforts to project its softer image.

In spite of having rich cultural and historical heritage, Pakistan couldn't project its soft image to the outer world as hardly any attention was given to building the image of the nation and the country. So, to counter negative narratives about it, the country should make an apt use of soft power which means it should make all-out efforts to shape others' thoughts and preferences through appeal and attraction.

Being a multi-cultural society, Pakistan has unique, diverse and appealing cultures. It also boasts to have rich history in the form of the world's oldest civilisations—Gandhara and Indus Valley (Mohenjo Daro). This diversity can help the country develop, with the help of media, its softer image. Tourism is another important feature of Pakistan. Tourist places stretch from the mighty Karakoram in the North to the Indus valley civilization in the South. Moreover, Pakistan is home to numerous peaks having an altitude of 7,000 metres or more. Allah Almighty has gifted the country with rich and varied flora and fauna. Mighty Himalayas, Karakoram and the Hindu Kush ranges, with their alpine meadows and a permanent snow line, coniferous forests of the hills running down to the sub-mountainous areas, the vast Indus plain merging into the great desert, the coastline and wetlands can hold any tourist breathlessly awe-inspired. The tourism industry goes with brand and reputation. India

initiated national tourism brand as 'Incredible India' and Malaysia projected itself as 'Malaysia, Truly Asia' to capture the attention of millions of tourists. Pakistan can learn a lot from them and adopt their policies; of course, after some adjustments and alterations according to its own socio-economic and religious setup. In this context, following points are worth consideration for authorities:

A national tourism policy should be implemented by integrating all the provinces, Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

The government should create public-private joint ventures to create an enabling environment.

A tourism board should also be established which included public, private and foreign partners.

To promote domestic tourism, the government should standardize the facilities provided to local visitors. Furthermore, proper monitoring in terms of check and balance on quarterly or annual basis will ensure hotels maintain their quality of services.

For the promotion of foreign tourism, a branding strategy is an urgent need as it will ultimately create a soft image of Pakistan.

Pakistan has great opportunity to develop its 1,046km-long coastline in the south by creating resorts and hotels.

In order to implement such a grand scheme so that we can portray a softer image of Pakistan in tourism field, all organs of the state i.e. legislature, executive and the judiciary, should be on the same page. ■

*The writer is serving as a Strategic & Administrative Adviser at CPEC-based project in Islamabad. He is also a member of Anti-Drug Task Force Punjab. He can be reached at: mianmajid582@gmail.com*

## TOP 10 SOFT POWER NATIONS

 <b>1</b> 67.1	 <b>6</b> 58.5
 <b>2</b> 61.9	 <b>7</b> 54.5
 <b>3</b> 61.2	 <b>8</b> 54.2
 <b>4</b> 60.2	 <b>9</b> 51.9
 <b>5</b> 58.7	 <b>10</b> 51.0



# WORLD TIMES TEST SERIES-II...CSS 2021 (ONLINE)

## English Essay

6th Aug 2020; Thursday 10:00 am - 1:00 pm

English Essay

## English (Précis & Composition)

8th Aug 2020; Saturday 10:00 am - 1:00 pm

Précis, Comprehension, Translation, Sentence Correction, Pairs of Words, Grammar & Vocabulary, Grouping of Words

## Pakistan & Current Affairs

10th Aug 2020; Monday 10:00 am - 12:15 pm

1. Ideology of Pakistan
2. Muslim rule in sub-continent
3. Movements for reforms
4. Non traditional security threats in Pakistan: Role of non-state actors
5. Changing security dynamics of Pakistan & Challenges to sovereignty
6. Nuclear program of Pakistan
7. Proxy Wars: Role of external elements
8. Pakistan & Changing regional apparatus
9. Foreign policy of Pakistan
10. Cooperation & competition in Indian & Pacific Ocean

12th Aug 2020; Wednesday 10:00 am - 12:15 pm

Pakistan's domestic affairs I

1. Political
  - i. Civil-military relations
  - ii. Political evolution since 1971
  - iii. Evolution of democratic system
  - iv. Ethnic issues & national integration
2. Global Issues I
  - i. Human rights
  - ii. Globalization
  - iii. Global energy politics & Environment
3. Pakistan's relations with countries & organizations
4. United Nations (UN)

15th Aug 2020; Saturday 10:00 am - 12:15 pm

Constitutional amendments and legal debates

- i. Important legislations
- ii. Legal cases
- iii. Role of higher courts
- iv. Latest Amendments

Global Issues II

- i. International security
- ii. International political economy
- iii. Nuclear politics in South Asia
- iv. Nuclear proliferation and nuclear security
- v. Palestine Issue
- vi. Terrorism and Counter terrorism

17th Aug 2020; Monday 10:00 am - 12:15 pm

Pakistan's domestic affairs II

1. Economic
  - i. Economic challenges in Pakistan
  - ii. Economic conditions of Pakistan
  - iii. Important economic sectors of Pakistan
2. Social
  - i. Poverty, education, health & sanitation
  - ii. Land & people of Pakistan
  - iii. Energy crisis
  - iv. Women empowerment
3. Geographical significance of Pakistan
4. Kashmir issue
5. Hydro Politics: Water issue in domestic & regional context

## Islamic Studies

19th Aug 2020; Wednesday 10:00 am - 12:15 pm

1. Introduction to Islam
2. Study of Seerah of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as role model
3. Islamic civilization and culture

21st Aug 2020; Friday 10:00 am - 12:15 pm

1. Human rights & status of women in Islam
2. Public administration & governance in Islam
3. Islamic code of life
4. Islam and the world

## General Science & Ability

24th Aug 2020; Monday 10:00 am - 12:00 pm

1. Biological sciences
2. Information technology

26th Aug 2020; Wednesday 10:00 am - 12:00 pm

1. Physical sciences
2. Environmental science
3. Food science

1st Sep 2020; Tuesday 10:00 am - 12:00 pm

General Ability

## Full Book Tests of Optionals

DATE	DAY	TIME	SUBJECTS
4th Sep	Friday	10:00 am to 01:00 pm	International Relations I / Political Science I
7th Sep	Monday	10:00 am to 01:00 pm	International Relations II / Political Science II
10th Sep	Thursday	10:00 am to 01:00 pm	History of USA / History of Pakistan & India
12th Sep	Saturday	10:00 am to 01:00 pm	Punjabi / Sociology
15th Sep	Tuesday	10:00 am to 01:00 pm	International Law / Criminology
18th Sep	Friday	10:00 am to 01:00 pm	Environmental Science / Gender Studies
21st Sep	Monday	10:00 am to 01:00 pm	Public Administration

WORLD TIMES TESTING SERVICE

227-Upper Mall, Lahore. 042-35714747, 0300-4018283, 0309-5556815



J

ahangir's World Times (JWT): First of all, please tell us about your educational background?

**Uzair Ali Khan (UAK):** I did my A Levels from Beaconhouse. I, then, joined LUMS from where I did my undergrad in Accounting and Finance, graduating with a high distinction.

**JWT:** Since you have been allocated to Pakistan Administrative Service (PAS), what was the feature of this service that attracted you most?

**UAK:** The horizontal mobility PAS offers, along with the chance to work directly in the field attracted me to this group. Serving in a variety of scenarios and positions helps one develop professionally.

**JWT:** What, in your opinion, is the key to making a difference in written part of CSS exam?

**UAK:** A reading habit can provide a huge edge. Preparation for the written exam requires one to read widely and quickly, and then retain that information well. Therefore, if you already have a habit of reading regularly, your brain is already trained for the exam. You will be able to prepare faster, read more and thus have a deeper knowledge base.

**JWT:** Generally, compulsory subjects are considered low-scoring, what was your strategy to get through these very papers?

**UAK:** For all subjects, the strategy should be to make the best use of the Internet and your own research skills. Rather than relying only on one or two books, I made additional notes from the internet, whenever I felt that my knowledge about a particular topic was lacking.

#### Detailed Marks Sheet

Subject	Marks
<b>Compulsory Subjects</b>	
Essay	44
Précis & Composition	62
GSA	56
Current Affairs	41
Pakistan Affairs	59
Islamiat	58
<b>Optional Subjects</b>	
Accountancy and Auditing	142
Business Administration	83
Gender Studies	49
Criminology	62
Anthropology	64
<b>Total Written</b>	<b>720</b>
Viva Voce	230
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>950</b>

**JWT:** What was the key to your phenomenal success?

**UAK:** I think sticking to a routine during the written exam preparation, actively seeking guidance from seniors and mentors, and a degree of interest in my subjects helped me score well.

**JWT:** How answers should be written to get maximum marks?

**UAK:** The answers I wrote usually ranged between 5 and 7 pages; although in some cases I wrote a little less as well. The more important part is to make your answers

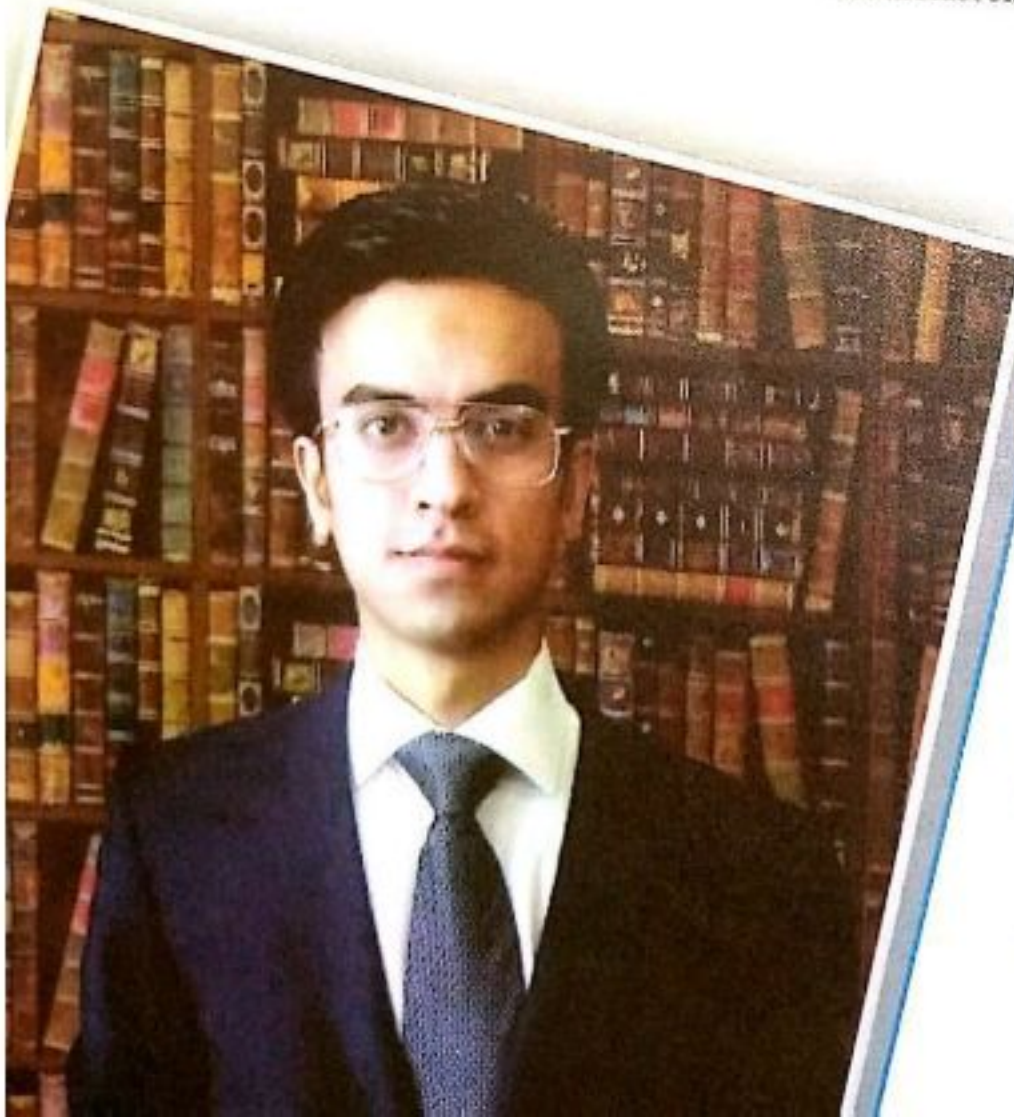
visually appealing. I don't have the best handwriting, so I relied on illustrations such as process maps, charts, graphs and diagrams. Furthermore, time management is the key; there is no point in writing 8-10 pages for the first three questions and then writing just a side or two for the last one.

**“Preparation for the written exam requires one to read widely and quickly, and then retain that information well.”**

*In Conversation with*

**Uzair Ali Khan (PAS)**

3rd in Pakistan;  
1st in GBFATA, CSS 2019-20





**JWT: Should there be some word limit kept in mind while writing answers?**

**UAK:** No word limit! But make sure that you time yourself. My advice is to do a test run before the exam; sit alone in a room, and practice solving a full exam with a timer to reflect actual exam conditions. This will help you judge your own writing speed, how you deal with pressure and how much time you need to allocate for each question such that you can easily complete full exam in time. Time management is very important and practicing before the exam can help you in many ways.

**JWT: How did you structure your Essay?**

**UAK:** For Essay, my mentors advised me that it is all about how you interpret, and then dissect a topic. My outlines consisted of a very brief introduction and a thesis statement, followed by main arguments. Then came the 'way-forward' section followed by 'conclusion'. For Précis and Composition paper, practice précis as much as you can and get your work reviewed by your study partner/teacher/friend. For composition, I looked through the 4000-word list but did not memorize them. You can also go through the idioms list, sentence correction rules, etc. and do practice exercises from any reputed book.

**JWT: How a new aspirant should start his/her preparations for CSS exam?**

**UAK:** Start with either Science or Islamiyat, while at the same time allocating some time each day for essay or composition preparation. Go through the syllabus carefully and ensure each topic is covered and nothing is missed out (unless you have the option to skip something). Focus on making your day productive, don't over-exert. Dedicate some time each day to relax, and study with a calm, focused mind. In the initial months, while preparing for

compulsories, keep researching what optional subjects you want to take. Discuss those with seniors, teachers and fellow aspirants. Most importantly, keep essay in focus because this is what makes or breaks your chances of passing the exam.

**JWT: What areas should new aspirants focus while preparing for the CSS exam?**

**UAK:** Essay should be the focus of all aspirants. Practice as much as you can. Practice does not necessarily mean writing full essays; even simply making outlines also helps. You can also simply discuss essay topics and ways to dissect and interpret them; such an exercise will sharpen your analytical skills that can help you on the day of the exam.

### My Tips:


#### Selection of optional subjects

I took Accounting & Auditing and Business Administration because that is what I studied at the university. This may be one way to select your subjects. The important thing is to find a balance between what you find interesting, and what you can study effectively. Some subjects may be very interesting but may take too much of your time to prepare, thus hampering your overall preparation.

#### Notes-making

Don't rely on one book only. For each topic, do your own share of online research to get additional information and perspectives.

#### Revision

One way to revise is to make an even more simplified form of your notes by memorizing. This can be a bit time-consuming. The key thing about revision is to not be distracted. At times, it seemed like I could not remember a thing from what I studied, but the key is to remain persistent and keep going. 

### Rapid Fire

Your inspiration	I sought inspiration from not persons but rather situations; I believe that rather than being an armchair critic, it is better to be in the field and do my part.
Attempts	01
Qualification	BSc Accounting and Finance
Alma mater	Beaconhouse
Schooling medium	English
Your study schedule	6-8 months – 7 days a week – 6-8 hours a day
Your sources	Books, Google
Group preferences	PAS
Academy or Institute you joined	WTI for Mock Interview
Why PAS?	The ability to serve in a wide array of fields in order to have a deeper impact
Hobbies	Jogging, Fitness
Fave personality	Atticus Finch (Most beloved characters in American literature and the greatest hero of all American cinema)
Fave book(s)	"To Kill a Mockingbird" by Harper Lee
Fave quote	"Success is not final; failure is not fatal; it is the courage to continue that counts—Winston Churchill
Secret of your success	A well-developed reading habit

### My Interview Experience

My interview began with questions on the Indian Citizenship Amendment Bill that had been recently passed. The conversation then moved to the rise of Hindutva and saffronisation in India. Conceptual questions from Anthropology (matrilineality and matriarchy) and Gender Studies (waves of feminism) were also discussed. Plenty of questions were asked about the Financial Crash of 2008, including the key players, causes and consequences. A few questions on Brexit were also asked. The interview was a great experience and I felt very comfortable. The key to success in interview is to maintain your composure.







## Meet the Five Young Pakistani Winners of The Diana Award 2020

**F**ive Pakistani youngsters have made the nation proud for winning the prestigious Diana Award 2020 for making exceptional efforts for the marginalised segment of the society and inspiring youth of the country. The awardees include two girls—Raina Khan Barki from Lahore and Nabila Abbas from DG Khan—and three boys—Muhammad Ahmad Toor from Rahim Yar Khan, Umer Mukhtar from Faisalabad and Muhammad Shoaib from Lower Kurram.



### About the Award

The Diana Award was established in 1999 by the British government in a bid to continue Princess Diana's legacy by establishing a formal way to recognise young people who were going above and beyond the expected in their local communities.

In 2006, it became an independent charity organisation and developed into a fully-fledged youth-led movement. It is the only charity set up in memory of Diana, Princess of Wales and her belief that young people have the power to change the world.

In 20 years, 49,000 selfless young people from across the world have been recognised for their social action and humanitarian work with the Diana Award. The organisation has trained over 33,000 young people to stand up to bullying in their schools and communities through Anti-Bullying Ambassador training, and has supported nearly 2,000 vulnerable young people across the United Kingdom by introducing a positive role model into their lives through mentoring programme.

#### 1. Raina Khan

Raina has been awarded for her efforts towards female empowerment, health, education and social entrepreneurship. She is the founder and CEO of a non-profit organisation 'Zenana Foundation'. Raina has worked with fundraisers and volunteers around the globe to set up free schools, start a skills training program for women and build an online marketplace for trainees to sell sustainable garments. These all facilitate self-sufficiency for young girls whilst also promoting environmental protection and sustainability. At the age of just 18, Raina Khan has already been voted as one of the 50 most influential women in Pakistan thanks to her efforts in female empowerment, health and hygiene, free education and social entrepreneurship.

#### 2. Nabila Abbas

Nabila Abbas, a 23-year-old girl from village Choti Zareen in Punjab's DG Khan district, has been conferred with the Diana Award for providing education to the women and girls of rural areas. Nabila, from rural Pakistan herself, believes that women and girls shouldn't be at a disadvantage due to economic and political instability, or educational and cultural constraints. Through her own determination and drive, Nabila is now studying Aviation at university and is using her global platform to represent girls in rural Pakistan. Nabila also created the initiative Aviation Literary Forum, which provides a space to encourage other girls to realise their dreams.

#### 3. Umar Mukhtar

Umer Mukhtar, an 18-year-old boy from Faisalabad, bagged the Award for his services to end inequalities through literacy. Empowered by the adage 'knowledge is power', Umar seeks to end inequalities through the power of literacy. His earliest initiative, the 'Kitaab Foundation', stocked under-funded schools across Pakistan with tens of thousands of books. Umar's Sadaqat Foundation raised \$30,000 to build

schools in areas where young people were lacking access to a quality education. A young teacher himself, Umar has inspired many young people to enjoy their education and break away from rote learning. Faith and perseverance have led Umar to success in these projects, despite facing sceptical responses along the way.

#### 4. Muhammad Shoaib

Muhammad Shoaib, a 24-year-old young man from lower Kurram in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, received the award for promoting peace, education and working on healthcare initiatives.

Shoaib is the CEO of 'Kurram Welfare Home', an NGO set up to counter violent extremism in Pakistan. After realising that the law of Pakistan's erstwhile FATA was different from that in the rest of Pakistan, Shoaib saw many young people were struggling to access justice systems, were experiencing gender inequality and had limited rights to land, education and health. Thus, he established his NGO to motivate young people to use their skills to tackle these issues. To date, he has supported over 500 young people to promote peace across various sectors.

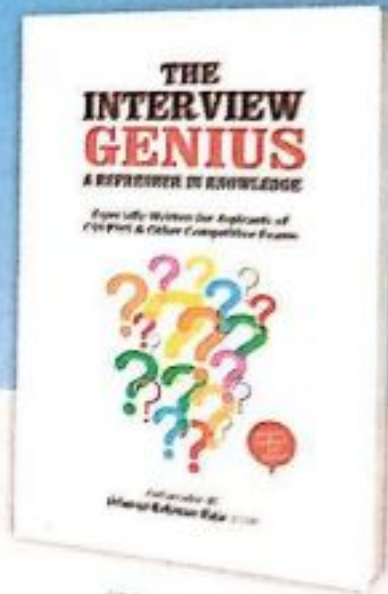
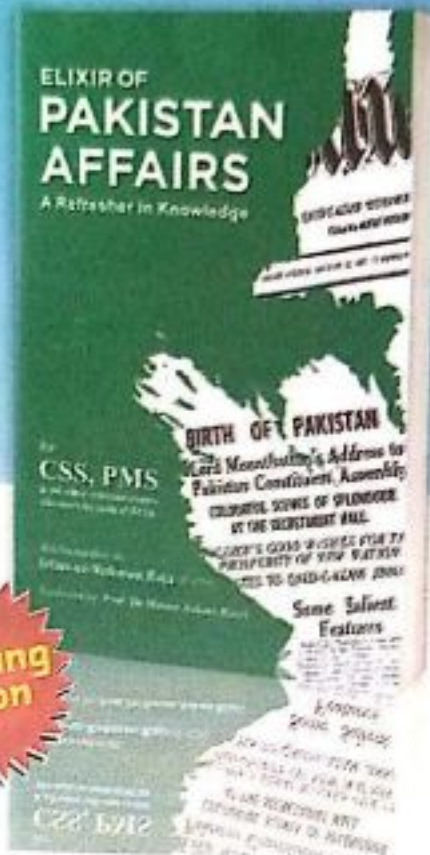
#### 5. Mohammad Ahmad Toor

Mohammad Ahmad Toor, a 23-year-old young man from Rahim Yar Khan, has won the global accolade for empowering thousands of youngsters through an organisation 'MAPS', a youth-led organisation which empowers young people to pursue further education.

After growing up as the son of a teacher in a low socio-economic community in Pakistan, Mohammad experienced the importance of a good education firsthand. To date, he has organised over 250 community empowerment seminars on the importance of education as well as physical and mental health and the need to build a stronger society. Mohammad is also the youngest Pakistani to speak at the United Nations as an official delegate from his country. ■



# OUR LATEST PUBLICATIONS

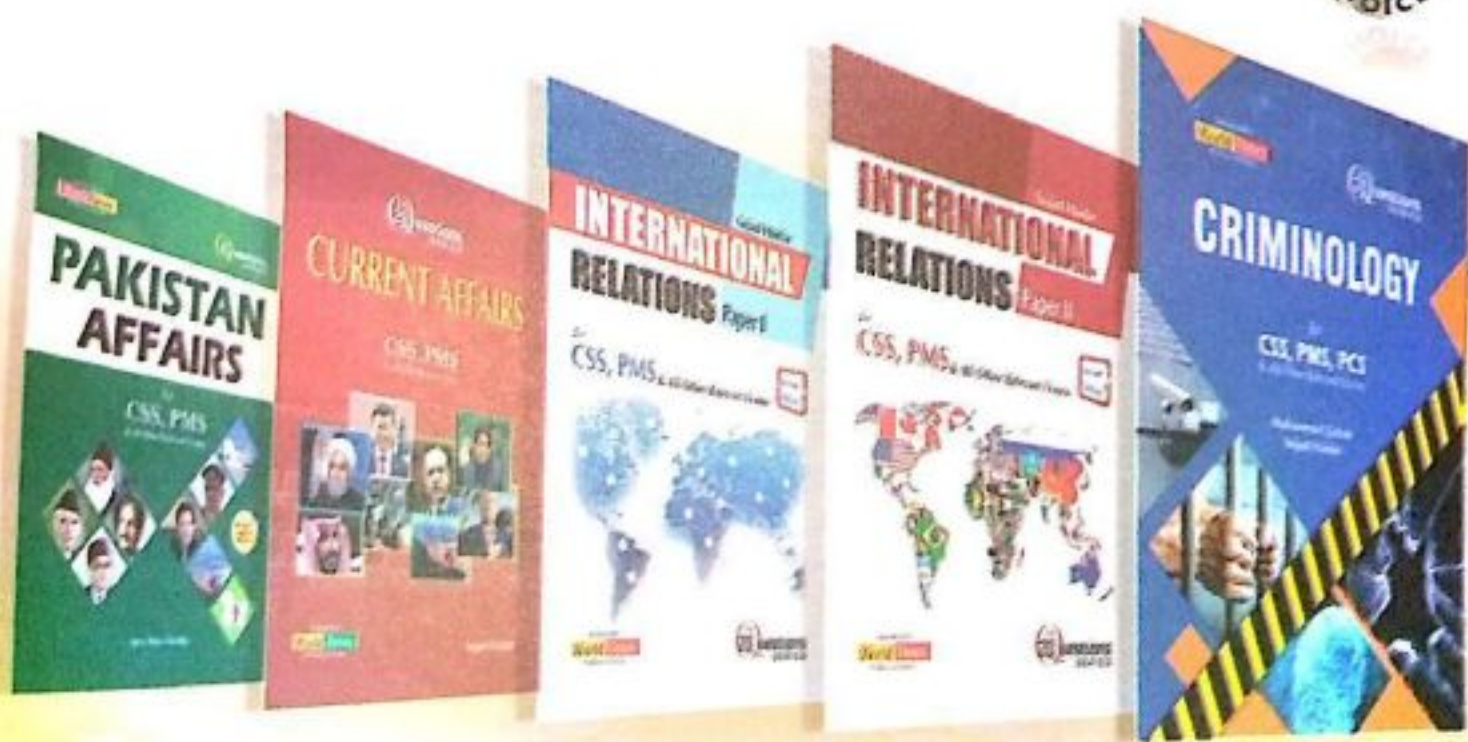


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China's 2020 mission to Mars, Tianwen-1, aims to send a probe to orbit the planet and also land a rover on its surface. China's mission is scheduled to begin operation at Mars by February 2021.

NASA's Mars 2020 mission aims to land a new rover called "Perseverance" on the Red Planet. NASA's mission is scheduled to begin operation at Mars by February 2021.

## Introduction

## Expected Landing Date

Current projections would have the orbiter and lander above and on Mars by February 2021. The rover is scheduled to land on Mars between January 31 and February 18, 2021.

Tianwen-1 will be China's first mission to Mars. It will be an attempt to observe the planet from orbit and the ground in one go. It follows China's successful landing on the "dark side" of Earth's moon little over a year ago (January 2019). The mission has been described as ambitious, not least for its inclusion of an orbiter and a Mars rover, but also because it's taken China a mere six years from the initial planning and mission design to launch in July 2020. The US has been involved in numerous Mars missions, including international collaborations. Its first Mars mission was Mariner 4, an attempted flyby in October 1964. That was followed by Mariner 6, a successful flyby in November of that same year. Viking 1 and Viking 2 in 1975 consisted of a Mars orbiter and lander, much like China's Tianwen-1, which was also launched in July 2020. NASA's current Mars missions include the Curiosity rover, and the InSight lander, which is probing the Red Planet's seismic activity.

## Mission No.

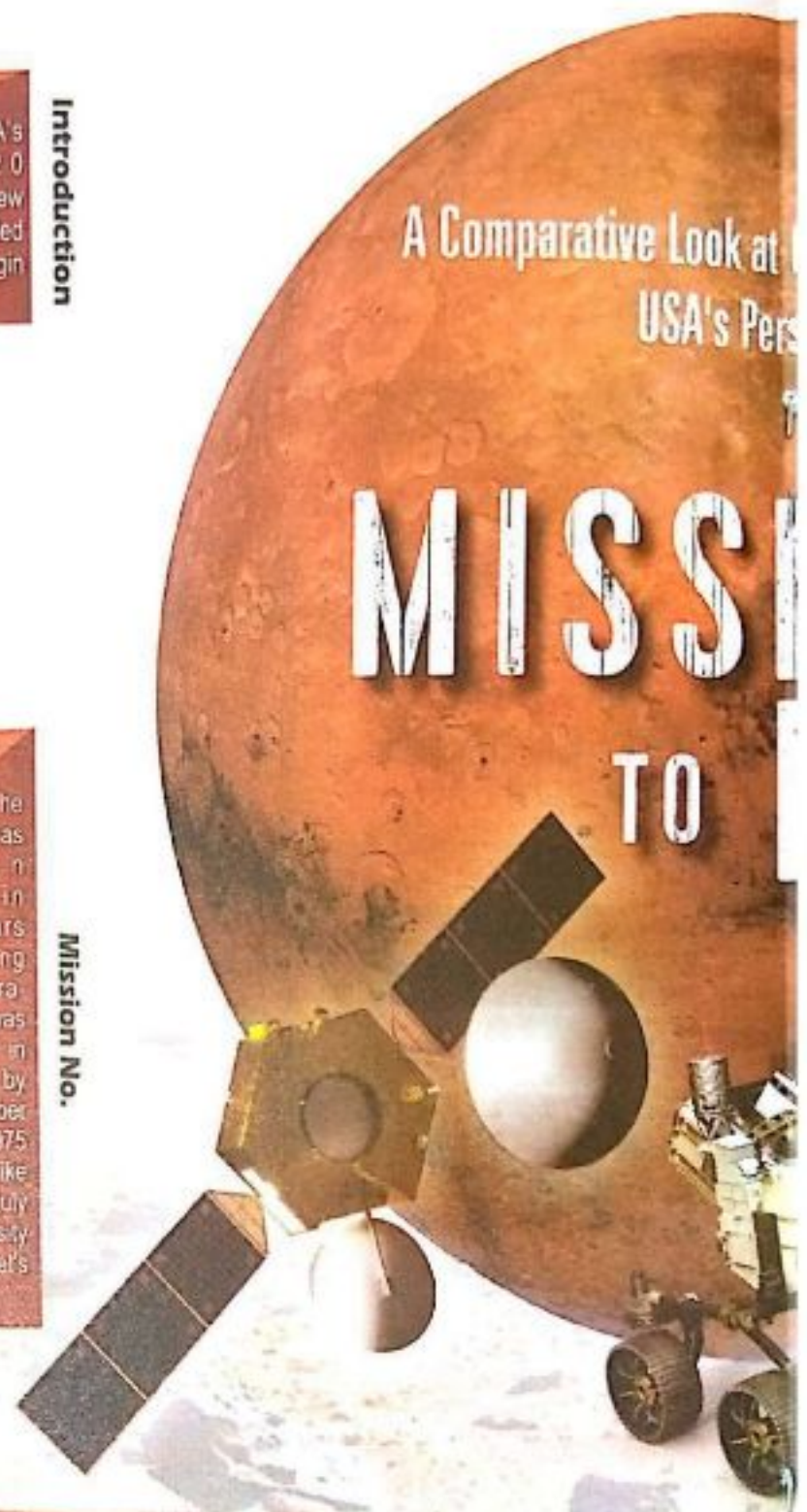
## The Mission

As with many Mars missions, Tianwen-1 is about learning more about the Red Planet and, through that, for scientists to learn more about our own planet. Beyond that, China wants to use the Tianwen-1 mission as a step towards a mission in 2030 that would bring back samples from Mars to Earth. The Mars 2020 mission has four scientific goals.

- Goal 1: Determine whether life ever arose on Mars.
- Goal 2: Characterize the climate of Mars, as will the Emirates Mars Mission which launched on July 17, 2020.
- Goal 3: Characterize the geology of Mars.
- Goal 4: Prepare for human exploration of the planet.

Tianwen-1's orbiter, or probe, will carry 13 "payloads." A payload can be a communications or Earth observation satellite, but in this case, it's instruments. For instance, there's a remote sensing camera and a ground-penetrating radar (SPR). Once the lander and rover detach from the probe and land on the surface of Mars, additional instruments will be deployed. As the name suggests, the SPR's main scientific objective is to investigate the Martian soil beneath the surface of the planet to determine its thickness and make-up. The rover weighs around 200 kilograms (about 440 pounds). It will be powered by solar panels, which may be impeded by a potential landing in the planet's northern hemisphere—landing at the equator would be better for solar power. It will investigate the ground with radar, perform chemical analyses on the soil, and look for biomolecules and biosignatures. Other instruments include a Martian surface magnetic field detector and a climate detector. Among the rover's many technical specifications are two microphones. NASA says this should make it possible to hear the sounds of Mars.

It will use a process called "sample caching" to drill for and store rocks on the Martian surface. If it succeeds, it will be the first mission to do that. Japan's MMX mission (current launch planned for 2024), which aims to bring samples





# China's Tianwen-1 and Perseverance

## MISSION MARS



Wenchang  
Spacecraft Launch  
Site, Hainan,  
China.

Cape  
Canaveral Air  
Force Station,  
Florida, USA.

### Launch Site

One of China's own heavy-lift  
rockets in the Long March  
5 series.

A United  
Launch Alliance  
Atlas 5 rocket.

### Launch Vehicle

### Name

NASA launched  
a "Name the Rover" competition in 2019 for  
its latest Mars mission. The competi-  
tion was won by a middle school  
student Alexander Mather,  
and NASA's new rover  
"Perseverance".

The  
name  
comes from a  
long poem called  
"Tianwen." It means  
"Questions to Heaven," and was  
written by Qu Yuan, a Chinese poet and  
politician, who lived in about 340-278 BC. He is  
considered one of the greatest poets of ancient China.

### Landing Site

China is  
focusing on two  
preliminary landing sites near Utopia  
Planitia, Mars.

Jezero Crater, Mars.

### Chances of Success

China  
launched its  
first satellite  
Dongfanghong-1 into space on  
April 24, 1970. This year is the 50th  
anniversary of the start of China's entry into  
space. So China is taking in the space game.  
In 2003, China became the third country to put a man in space  
with its own rocket, after the former Soviet Union and the United States.  
And it landed Chang'e-4 on the moon in January 2019 — a move that no  
other nation has managed since NASA's Apollo missions in the late  
1960s and early '70s.

And speculation about the type of Mars rover, following a failure to  
achieve orbit on Tuesday in 2017, seems to have been allowed with  
a successful launch in December 2019. But landing on  
Mars will be a whole new challenge in itself. More  
experienced spacefaring nations have failed  
including the Europeans and the Russians  
with ExoMars 2016, and Japan has  
failed on Mars as well.  
But China has more missions  
to come, including a  
return to Mars in  
2026.

Space  
is never  
easy. But NASA  
has succeeded in  
landing robotic missions on  
Mars before — and after the  
launch from Earth, landing is one of  
the trickiest manoeuvres.

Perseverance will use NASA's "proven  
landing system," but will also seek to improve the  
system.

The Mars 2020 landing system includes a parachute,  
descent vehicle, and an approach called a "sky crane  
manoeuvre" for lowering the rover on a tether to the surface.

A new technology called Terrain-Relative Navigation (TRN) will help  
the rover to avoid dangerous terrain during its decent through the  
Mars atmosphere.

And a microphone will enable engineers on Earth to  
monitor the sounds of the rover during entry,  
descent and landing — arguably,  
the hardest part.

### Instruments on the Probe and Rover

The  
rover has  
seven primary  
instruments, including an  
advanced camera system with  
panoramic and stereoscopic, and the Mars  
Oxygen ISRU Experiment (MOXIE), which will  
be able to produce oxygen from Martian atmospheric carbon

and SHERLOC will be the first of its kind to provide fine-  
scale ultraviolet (UV) laser to determine mineralogy and detect

missions is another first for robotic exploration of Mars: the  
probe will be able to "touch, taste, and finally

touch and soil samples. Those samples will be stored in tubes on  
the rover and "pave the way for future missions" — perhaps including  
samples from the Martian moon. Photos, back to Earth.

CHINA USA



# CSS ONLINE

MORNING BATCH

Starting From:  
**Monday 10<sup>th</sup> Aug '20**

*Registration Open*

0309-5556815  
0302-5556806  
0309-5556814  
0300-4242363



WORLD TIMES INSTITUTE





The world's oldest

intelligence alliance

Ansar Hafeez

### Introduction

The Five Eyes Alliance (abbreviated as FVEY in government documents) is a cooperative intelligence network that monitors the electronic communications of citizens and foreign governments. This conglomerate, which consists of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States, works closely together to collect mass surveillance data and share it with the relevant parties. FVEY is not controlled by any government and, therefore, has the power to spy over citizens of the member states. This act only grants the alliance privacy, rather than its citizens.

### Background

The United States and Britain had a smooth intelligence relationship in World War II, and they formalized it after the war with the BRUSA (later called UKUSA) Agreement in 1946. Helping to bond the allies was a joint effort to decrypt Soviet intercepts that helped reveal that spies had compromised the US Manhattan Project to build an atomic bomb.

As former UK dominions exercised greater sovereignty, Canada (1948) and Australia and New Zealand (1956) began representing themselves in the pact.

### What makes it different?

There are other multilateral intelligence-sharing arrangements, such as within NATO, but more information gets shared among the Five Eyes, bonded in part by a common language and decades of trust. FVEY members keep some things to themselves, and share with others on a case-by-case basis.

### Operations

In the 1950's, FVEY shared Cold War intelligence and monitored communications from the Soviet Union, People's Republic of China and Eastern Bloc countries. Intelligence from FVEY was also used for:

- the Vietnam War;
- the Falklands War;
- the Gulf War;
- the overthrowing of Iran's Prime Minister Mohammed Mosaddegh;
- the assassination of Patrice Lumumba;
- the overthrowing of Chilean President Salvador Allende;
- aiding Chinese dissidents during the Tiananmen Square protests; and

- the War on Terror.

### Scope of work

In the past, it was used to monitor foreign communications among a number of countries, serving various political interests. Today, FVEY monitors private communications of billions of people, worldwide. Lately, the alliance has heightened the surveillance of online activity.

### How it works?

The Five Eyes alliance uses communications methods, such as signals intelligence (SIGINT), to monitor the citizens of other FVEY member countries. It collects information by intercepting private communications—such as telephone calls, faxes, emails and text messages—from infrastructure such as satellites, telephone networks and fibre optic cables. FVEY also receives records of user data from large technology giants—including Microsoft, Yahoo, Google, Facebook, YouTube, Skype and others. Each member country has three to five government agencies involved; each agency is responsible for one or two roles, including human intelligence, defence intelligence, security intelligence, geo intelligence and signal intelligence.

### Other related intelligence alliances

The countries involved in the Five Eyes alliance have built decades-long partnerships that involve deeper levels of intelligence-sharing and an agreement to not spy on each other. Other intelligence alliances include:

#### 1. Five Eyes Plus Three Against China and Russia

Includes the Five Eyes countries along with France, Germany and Japan. The alliance was formed in early 2018 as a response to common threats from Russian and Chinese activities.


#### 2. Five Eyes Plus Three Against North Korea

Includes the Five Eyes countries along with France, Japan and South Korea. The alliance is used to share intelligence about North Korean military activities, such as ballistic missile-related threats.

#### 3. Nine Eyes

Five Eyes countries, along with Denmark, France, the Netherlands and Norway.

#### 4. Fourteen Eyes

The informal name for Nine Eyes countries, along with Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Sweden. Formally known as SIGINT Seniors Europe (SSEUR). 



## INTERVIEW

In Conversation with

**Daniya Rana (PSP)**

55th in Pakistan; 2nd in Sindh Urban, CSS 2019-20

I would read the interviews of selected candidates from JWT, and it motivated me a lot while I was preparing for CSS exam.



JWT Editorial Board

**J**ahangir's World Times (JWT): First of all, please tell us about your educational background?

**Daniya Rana (DR):** My schooling was from The Mama Parsi Girls' Secondary School. I had distinction in matriculation exam. Later, I graduated from Karachi University in Economics and Finance, and have recently completed my MS in Economics from IBA, Karachi. I also have 3.5 years of work experience; I served as YPA in Sindh Assembly, as a Senior Executive in Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Senior Auditor in AG Sindh. Of late, I was serving as an Assistant Director in Bureau of Supply and Prices.

**JWT:** Since you have been allocated to Police Service of Pakistan (PSP), what was the feature of this service that attracted you most?

**DR:** The nature of job as an ASP is thrilling. I feel that there is no bigger authority than the power to protect the lives, property and dignity of people. Moreover, few girls are in this service, and I believe that if more women join government service as a judge or as police cop, it will end violence and gender disparity. In future, I want to be the voice of marginalized women because they experience additional barriers in their ability to access justice mechanism.

**JWT:** How much helpful did you find Jahangir's World Times (JWT) during your preparation for CSS exam?

**DR:** JWT was very helpful particularly in preparing MCQs. Moreover, I would read the interviews of selected candidates from JWT, and it motivated me a lot while I was preparing for CSS exam.

**JWT:** What, in your opinion, is the key to making a difference in written part of CSS

exam?

**DR:** In my opinion, it is:

1. Your uniqueness; critically analyze the topic and give your own opinion.
2. Try to give examples to explain your point of view based on solid research.
3. Learn jargon and vocabulary related to the subject and use it; for example, in economics words like stagflation, utility, *ceteris paribus*, and others.
4. Presentation matters a lot; use pointers and markers, make pictorials, and draw tables to explain things. If your handwriting is bad, try to improve it.

**JWT:** Generally, compulsory subjects are considered low-scoring, what was your strategy to get through these very papers?

**DR:** As I prepared for CSS only in 3 months while doing, simultaneously, a job as well as my MS studies, it was really tough. So the trick that worked for me was:

1. Selective study, of only the important topics.
2. Quoting statistics, authentic sources and giving my own arguments in Current Affairs and Pakistan Affairs papers.
3. For Islamiyat, I learned Quranic verses and quoted them in Arabic. I was able to get 60 marks in Islamiyat, although I could only get 10 of the MCQs correct. I think, it was because of quoting verses from Quran, and ahadith rather than giving general explanations.

**JWT:** What was the key to your phenomenal success?

**DR:** It was:

1. Believing in myself
2. Being realistic
3. Trust in Allah Almighty

**JWT:** How answers should be written to get

**Detailed Marks Sheet**

Subject	Marks
<b>Compulsory Subjects</b>	
Essay	40
Precis & Composition	42
GSA	66
Current Affairs	53
Pakistan Affairs	50
Islamiyat	60
<b>Optional Subjects</b>	
Economics	119
Mercantile Law	87
Business Administration	81
Gender Studies	49
Journalism & Mass Communication	62
<b>Total Written</b>	<b>689</b>
Viva Voce	115
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>804</b>



## INTERVIEW

**My Interview Experience**

My interview experience was good, but interview score was quite surprising. The majority of questions the panelists asked were from history (my weakest area). But I was quite calm and confident while giving interview. There was no question related to my degree, optional subjects and my job experience. There were few token questions which I luckily got correct. I believe that luck really matters in the interview phase. Moreover, my interviews had landed me to some really good organizations where I have served, but in CSS interview I believe that knowledge is the key.

**maximum marks?**

**DR:** I would suggest the following strategy:

1. Clarity of ideas and critically analyzing things shall make your paper unique.
2. Each answer should be well structured and to the point, avoid redundancy.
3. Go through Examiners' Reports available on FPSC website.

**JWT:** Should there be some word limit kept in mind while writing answers?

**DR:** Yes, your answer should ideally span 4 to 6 pages. Don't

**My Advice for fresh aspirants:**

Fresh aspirants should:

1. First focus on English writing; practice English, attempt essays and make outlines.
2. Take each optional subject seriously as I have seen many an aspirant taking optional subjects like International Law, Gender Studies and languages not too seriously.
3. Take care of your health. Do yoga and exercise on daily basis. This shall improve your productivity. Also give time to your family and friends.



exceed, otherwise you won't be able to complete your paper in time.

**JWT:** How did you structure your Essay?

**DR:** There must be an outline in the essay. The introductory paragraph should be catchy. Start with catchy statements, a maxim, a metaphor or a quote. There should be thesis statement in your introductory paragraph. Quote as many examples from your personal experiences too in essay paper but only those which make sense so that the examiner enjoys reading it. For précis, practice writing and do self-assessment.

**JWT:** How a new aspirant should start his/her preparations for CSS exam?

**DR:** Never flaunt in front of your relatives or friends that you are preparing for CSS! Just keep it to yourself because the more you show off the more the expectations, and that will increase your stress. Frank Ocean says, "Work hard in silence; let your success be your noise."

1. Start your preparation with compulsory subjects, especially English as 90 percent fail English only. Practice essay, précis and comprehension daily. Half the time should be given to English if your skills in it are of mediocre

level.

2. Select 30 important topics from a subject and do research on, and critical analysis of, each of those. Make a register where you collect data from research on each topic.
3. Lastly, choose optional subjects and prepare them well. Don't take any optional subject lightly as aspirants usually do with subjects such as Gender Studies and Sociology.

**JWT:** What areas should new aspirants focus while preparing for CSS exam?

**DR:** Essay should be the focus of all aspirants. Practice as much as you can. Practice does not necessarily mean writing full essays; even simply making outlines also helps. You can also simply discuss essay topics and ways to dissect and interpret them; such an exercise will sharpen your analytical skills that can help you on the day of the exam.

**My Tips:****Selection of optional subjects**

Consider these three things while making a decision:

1. Academic background
2. Your passion or liking for a subject
3. Scoring trend

Do choose a language if you have good knowledge in that. Language paper is easy to handle and scoring as well.

**Notes-making**

Make short notes for each topic and long ones only for 2-3 topics which are really important.

Make one-liner, one-page notes for final-day revision.

Make a separate register just for flowcharts, diagrams and pictorial data

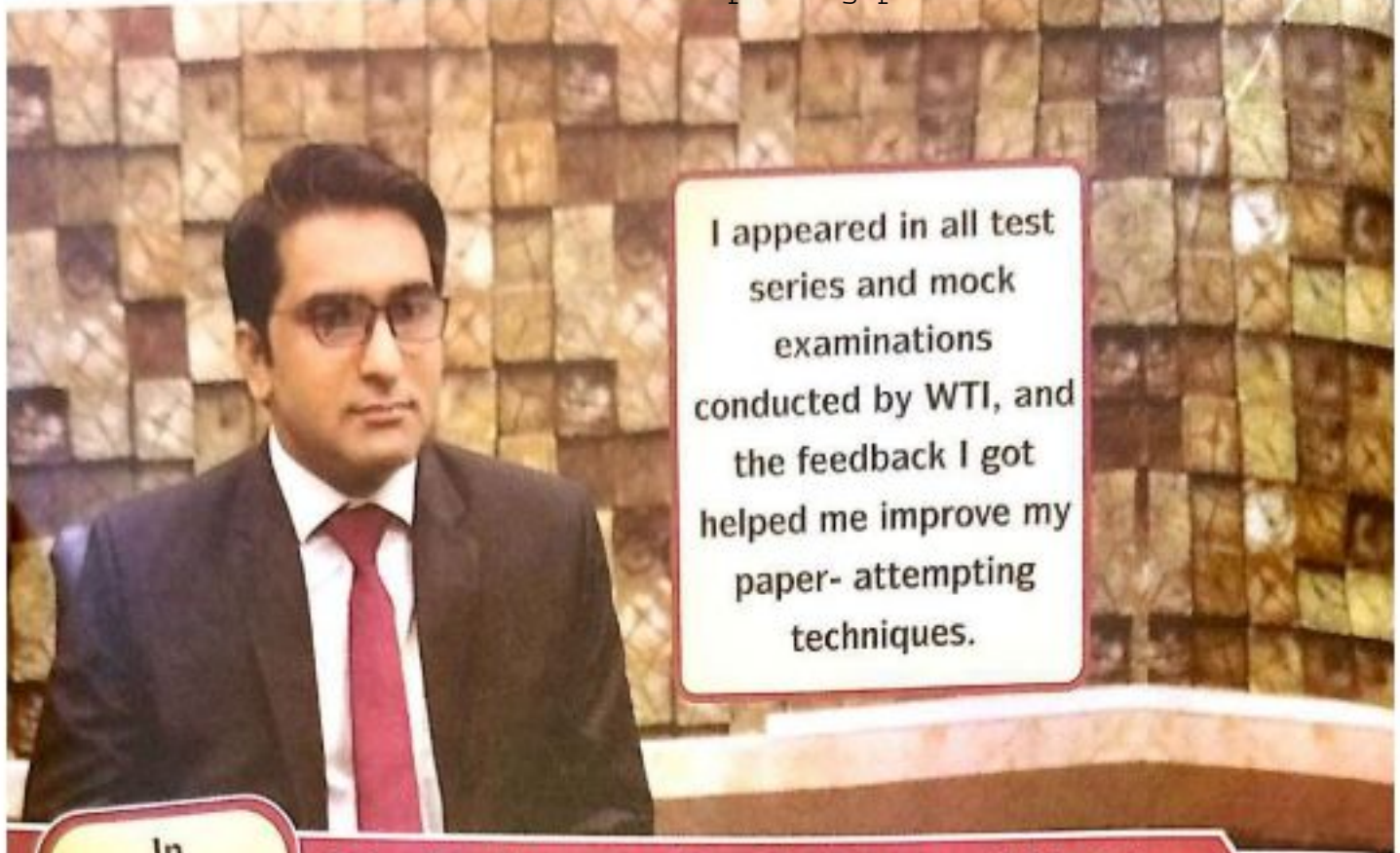
**Revision**

One-page notes for revision. Long notes should not exceed 3 pages so that revision is easy. **B**

**Rapid Fire**

Your inspiration	Myself
Attempts	01
Qualification	MS Economics
Alma maters	IBA Karachi, Karachi University
Schooling medium	English
Your study schedule	7 to 8 hours for 3 months
Your sources	The Economist, JWT, Dawn opinion
Group preferences	1. PSP; 2. PAS; 3. FSP
Why PSP?	The nature of police service job is thrilling.
Hobbies & extracurricular achievements	Cycling; Parliamentary Debates
Fave personality	Ratan Tata
Fave book(s)	"A Thousand Splendid Suns" by Khaled Hosseini
Fave quote	"It's not about making the right choice. It's about making a choice and making it right." — J.R. Rim
Secret of your success	Never giving up; believing in myself
Your role model	Mohammad Ali (boxer)





I appeared in all test series and mock examinations conducted by WTI, and the feedback I got helped me improve my paper- attempting techniques.

In conversation with

**Dr Zulqurnain Saleem Wattoo**  
7th in Punjab, PMS 2018-19  
108th in Pakistan, CSS 2019-20

**J**ahangir's World Times (JWT): First of all, please tell us about your educational background?

**Dr Zulqurnain Saleem Wattoo (DZSW):** I was born in Bahawalnagar. I did my O and A levels from Sadiq Public School, Bahawalpur; scoring 9 As in O level and 6 As in A level. I got admission to Shaikh Khalifa Bin Zayed Al Nahyan Medical & Dental College, Lahore, and graduated from there in March 2015 with distinction. Later, I did my house job and worked as Medical Officer for 3 years.

**JWT:** How was your experience of the preparation for PMS exam at the World Times Institute?

**DZSW:** I joined WTI back in 2016 during my house job, and got basic orientation and initial guidance on the competitive examination from here. I remember drawing inspiration from the pictures of the qualifiers hung in the corridor and promising myself getting a place there. Moreover, I appeared in all

test series and mock examinations conducted by WTI, and the feedback I got helped me improve my paper-attempting techniques. Moreover, mock interviews on the pattern of FPSC conditioned me to get a good score in the final interview.

**JWT:** What, in your opinion, is the key to getting through compulsory papers of PMS exam, especially that of General Knowledge?

**DZSW:** Comprehensive reading in

#### Advice for Fresh Aspirants

Stay persistent and focused. You may see your batch-mates progressing in their career with you sitting in the library. Keep yourself motivated. It is better not to be active on social media. Make a group of serious friends and discuss among yourselves rather than studying alone.

line with the syllabus and questions asked in the past papers. Make notes, choosing a core book and pasting sticky notes on it from other sources is a good strategy. Once syllabus is covered, getting one evaluated through mock exams before appearing in the actual

examination not only enhances one's confidence but also is good for revision. For instance, after in mocks, I learned that my notes are too lengthy to enable me revise the whole syllabus before the exams and I summarized them accordingly.

**JWT:** How answers should be written to get maximum marks in the written part of PMS exam?

**DZSW:** Staying relevant is the key. For a 20-mark question, make at least ten headings. Read question thrice and specifically answer what has been asked. Writing 10 pages that are irrelevant would irritate the examiner rather than bringing good scores. Another thing which I learnt from WTI mock exams (which candidates with A Level specifically are weak in) was appropriate paper presentation with an apt use of markers, diagrams and flowcharts.

**JWT:** How did you structure your Essay?

**DZSW:** Staying simple, avoiding adventurism and making the right choice of topic is important. I believe outline is the decisive part; ergo,



## INTERVIEW

Besides qualifying for the Provincial Management Service (PMS), Dr Watton also appeared in CSS-2019 examination. He came through with flying colours by securing 108th position in Pakistan and getting allocated to Office Management Group (OMG).

spent 30 minutes on it and made it as comprehensive, organised and thorough as I could so that the examiner is convinced at the start that he is assessing an erudite candidate. Remaining time is for writing paragraphs on the basis of the outline. Again, relevance matters, if the essay topic is "democracy and illiteracy cannot survive together," develop the link between the two instead of writing thesis on democracy, and giving rosy definitions of democracy, e.g. for the people, by the people, blah, blah, blah.

**JWT: What was your strategy for the General Knowledge paper?**

**DZSW:** During first reading, I marked the questions that were new to me with black, and marked them with red while reading it for the second time. Revised the questions marked with red the night before the exam. Encyclopaedia by World Times Publications was the one I followed.

**JWT: Should there be some word limit kept in mind while writing answers?**

**DZSW:** For me, the number of pages or words is a myth. I believe, a question of 20 marks requires ten-point discussion in a paragraph under a suitable heading. Adding a few quotations would be an icing on the top. This may take 4 pages for a few and most would not be able to do that in ten pages. If the examiner asks impacts of global warming, do not go in detail of what is global warming or waste

pages in drawing greenhouse gas effect.

**JWT: Is it better to attempt optional papers in Urdu or one should go with English only?**

**DZSW:** The medium should be the one through which you can easily express your thoughts.

**JWT: How one should choose Optional Subjects?**

**DZSW:** One's temperament and educational background must matter the most. Evaluate syllabus and the past papers and make a choice. No need to go into

## My Interview Experience

Great experience! I expressed myself openly and engaged the panel. On the questions I did not know the answer for, I politely apologized.

complexities of high-scoring or low-scoring subjects. If one is comfortable and has prepared a particular subject well, one can always score high.

**JWT: Who deserves the credit for your success?**

**DZSW:** My family that was besides me all the time. Sir Ahitsham had been excellent teacher. My study partners Hamza, Ibrar and Ali Hassan were a great support. My



friends from 46th Common, Anees, Aqsa, Waqas, Fareeha Waqar, and Usman had supported me when I went unallocated in CE-2017. Ms Tehmina, Adnan Bashir and Ms Iqra at WTI have facilitated me in all possible ways and I would never be able to repay them.

**JWT: As interviewers usually grill the interview candidates, how did you manage the situation?**

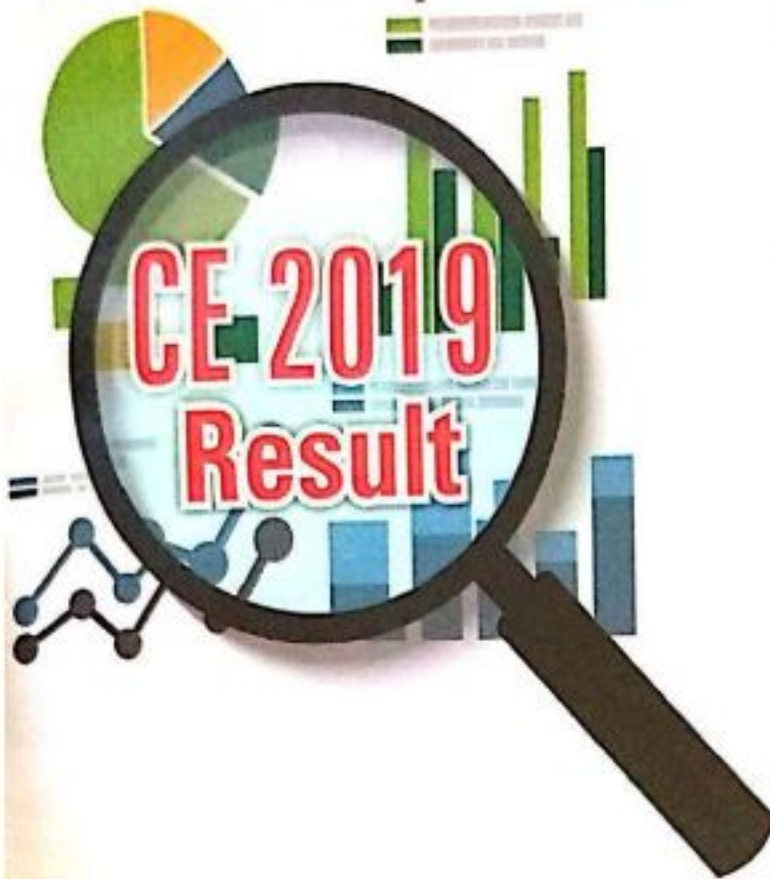
**DZSW:** Staying composed is the key. Primarily, interview is not the test of your knowledge (which the written part is); it is the test of your composure, confidence attire and the personality. I mastered tackling such situations by appearing in the panel mock interviews. I would like to thank Ms Iqra for arranging them and Sir Kamran Ahmed for brushing up my skills. ■

## Rapid Fire

Your inspiration	Fellows sitting from 10am-8pm in British Council Library; their dedication for the dream had been inspiring.
Attempts	01
Schooling medium	English medium
Your qualification	MBBS
Alma mater	Shaikh Zayed Medical College, Lahore
Your study schedule	4-6 hours initially, extended to 12 hours a day a few months preceding the exam
Your sources	Renowned authors such as Ayesha Jalal, Maleeha Lodhi and FPSC-recommended books for optional subjects; JWT magazine for current affairs
Your strength	Perseverance
Hobbies & activities	Book reading, watching talk shows
Fave personality(ies)	Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Woodrow Wilson
Fave book(s)	1. Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy and the West by Benazir Bhutto 2. Fallen Leaves: Last Words on Life, Love, War, and God by Will Durant
Fave quote	"And that there is not for man except that [good] for which he strives." Al-Quran (53:39)
Secret of your success	Tailor-made approach, persistence and right guidance
Your role model(s)	Dr Shoaib Suddle Muhammad Ali Nekokara



# An Analysis of



## General Myths and Criticism against the Examination and Selection Process

This section will put forward each myth, test it against the available data (both quantitative and qualitative) and show that the criticism is unjustified and the myths are false. It will, then, go on to tear down these myths with actual data-backed facts.

### Myth 1: Pass Rate is Too Low

The tabulated data for candidates who appear and who finally qualify the exam show, no doubt, a declining trend but certain observations need to be taken into account:

1. **Candidate behaviour:** The number of candidates declines after every exam, the most significant drop coming right after the essay paper as the post-exam self-evaluation disheartens many candidates who do not bother to appear in the rest of the papers. Such candidates are eliminated from the competition by default while their attempt is counted. Usually, the strength of candidates halves after the Essay paper.
2. **CSS is a test of persistence and attitude:** Candidates focus on the knowledge component of the exam. Even though it is a significant component; It's not the only one because the exam is not like the ones students have to take in schools, colleges and universities. CSS exam requires nerves of steel, ability to perform under pressure, the attitude to sit

WTI Team

**E**very year, after the result of Central Superior Services (CSS) examination is announced, there is a barrage of criticism against the system of examination and selection, based on some myths.

This is unfair, and counter-productive as well. It is unfair because criticism is not backed by any data and, therefore, the myths it leads to are ill-founded. It is counter-productive because it disheartens many candidates. The fact that criticism is itself not based on any substantive evidence makes the practice doubly counter-productive. With this background, then, this article aims to show that the criticism is unfounded by dispelling the myths in a scientific manner, and to help the candidates by providing them an analysis of results through an investigative, qualitative and quantitative research.

for two lengthy exams every day for a number of consecutive days and much more—all of these being skills that the civil service requires. Most candidates,

Year	Candidates Appeared	Candidates Passed (%)
2011	9063	786 (8.67%)
2012	10066	788 (7.82%)
2013	11406	220 (1.93%)
2014	13170	377 (2.86%)
2015	12176	368 (3.02%)
2016	9643	199 (2.06%)
2017	9391	310 (3.30%)
2018	11887	567 (4.77%)
2019	14521	365 (2.51%)

especially those who leave revision for the last day (often from lengthy notes rather than short ones), and compromise on their sleep and diet, often find themselves underperforming.

3. **Non-serious candidates:** As the job market has suffered increasing pressures, the number of candidates seeking a job through CSS has grown exponentially. But not all of them prepare well and seriously for the exam. Many take the exams to merely try their luck. All these points make it vividly clear that the actual number of candidates who take all the papers in CSS exam, and are also serious enough to be considered within the competing



group, is much lower than the reported number of candidates appeared.

4. **Trends in the region:** The most competitive of all examinations for civil service are held in India and China, and in both cases, the passing rate is less than even 0.1% which is far below the lowest passing rate seen in Pakistan in the year 2013, which means that the exams are meant by design to be highly competitive, not accommodating.

#### **Myth No. 2: Candidates Belonging to Elite/Foreign Universities are Preferred**

This is once again just a myth that has been in vogue for some years. Data taken from amongst the top 60 allocated candidates reveals that 77% of them belonged to public-sector universities, just a little above 20% belonged to Pakistani elite universities and a mere 2% to foreign universities. It is obvious then that those who make such claims are misguided.

#### **Myth 3: Gender Bias**

Women have a 10% quota for them in the Competitive Examination system which means that they compete for the rest of the 90% seats as well but have 10% allocated specifically to them. The number of women being allocated showed an increase (as percentage of total candidates allocated) during the last few years, the high point being reached in 2015 when almost 45% of the allocated candidates were women—at a time when the FPSC panel had no female members in it. Over the past five years, however, the number has decreased to almost 38% (in 2019). This shows that FPSC does not have any bias as a policy per se.

#### **Myth 4: Panel Awards Higher Marks in Interview to Those with High Scores in Written**

This is a myth as well as a grievance of many candidates. Data analysis of a random sample of 80 candidates who got allocated in 2019 reveals that there is no significant correlation between the written and interview scores (value of the correlation coefficient being 0.2, signifying an absence of correlation). The graph of Interview Scores plotted against

Written Scores helps to show this very clearly. Out of the 16 candidates who had a high score in the written exam (680 or above), only 4 managed to secure more than 150 marks in interview. On the other hand, out of the 11 candidates who scored 150 or more in the interview, 7 had marks below 665. This shows that candidates who did well on both the written and the interview (3 candidates only) actually had the skills to perform well on both rather than there being any bias.

#### **Conclusion – Myths Displaced by Facts**

One can safely say after this analysis that the criticism and myths are invalid. Each one of them, in fact, needs to be replaced by a counter-fact. Firstly, the pass rate is not low; it reflects candidates' behaviour and attitude and is still much higher than general pass rates prevailing in the region. Secondly, there is no preference given to candidates who are graduates of elite and foreign universities; the pass percentages in CSS reflect the general social makeup of Pakistan's educational demographics as more than 75% of the qualifying candidates belong to public-sector universities of Pakistan. Thirdly, there is no bias rooted in gender; in fact, there have been years where gender-wise distribution of qualifiers has been almost equal. Fourthly and lastly, the interview scores are independent of written scores, with the latter having almost no effect on the former.



## Subject-wise Analysis: Compulsories

This section will present the score distribution of each compulsory subject and present an analysis for the reasons that can be deduced for such a distribution. The aim will be to help candidates prepare better for their exams.

\*The lowest and the highest scores in each subject.

\*\*The range of marks within which 68% of the candidates lay—the narrower this range, the lesser the competition—while a wider range shows that those with higher marks got a significant advantage over others. This range shows the distribution of marks within one standard deviation.

Compulsory Subject	Average	Minimum – Maximum (Marks)*	Range of 68% candidates**
English Essay	43.0	40 – 61	40.0 – 47.8
Poetry and Composition	50.6	40 – 70	42.9 – 58.3
General Science and Ability	57.7	41 – 80	48.8 – 66.6
Current Affairs	47.2	33 – 64	40.1 – 54.3
Pakistan Affairs	54.5	41 – 66	48.2 – 60.8
Islamic Studies	62.7	42 – 77	56.2 – 69.2

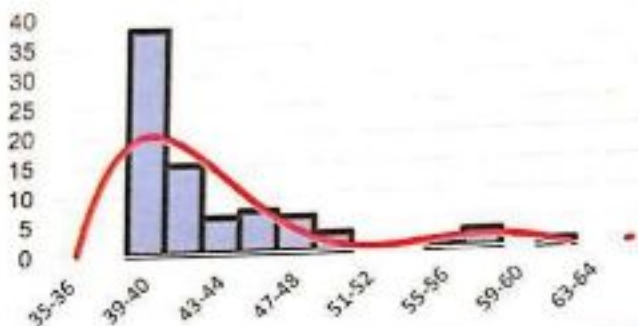




### English Essay

The exam had a low average of 43 as is usually the case with the English Essay. Due to narrow 68% range though, it shows that higher marks in essay were infrequent as the graph too shows, and that almost no one was able to gain any significant advantage in the essay exam. Those who did extraordinary in it (only 5 candidates in the sample) must have displayed a complete understanding of the topic, structured it properly, developed their arguments fully, refrained from ambiguity in their arguments and stance, and managed to avoid mistakes of English.

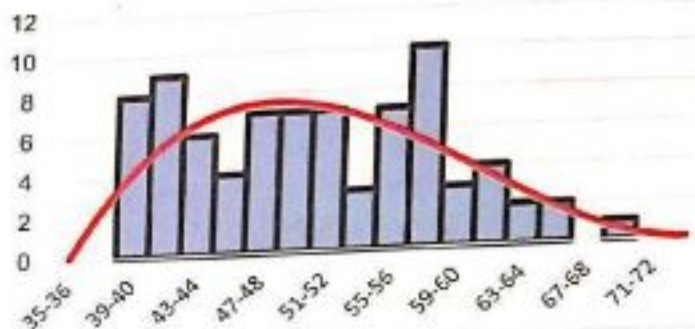
English Essay



### Précis and Composition

Candidates secured mostly average marks in this exam as well, but the 68% range of the exam was much wider, almost double than that of the essay exam which meant that the 12 candidates within our sample who secured higher than this range (above 58) gained a significant advantage over the majority who remained confined within the lower bracket. It goes on to show the importance of this particular exam if candidates wish to be competitive.

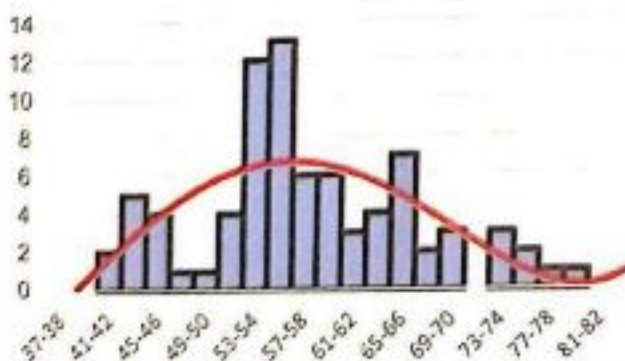
Precis and Composition



### General Science and Ability

It is one of those few subjects in CSS which have the potential of giving candidates very high scores as the highest score of 80 (within the sample) shows. With proper preparation and attempting methods, candidates can try to maintain their edge in this exam or make up for any disadvantage they may have incurred elsewhere. Despite that however, it was surprising even disheartening to see that most candidates (almost 70% in the sample taken) failed to go beyond the 60% mark in this exam too. This could be either because of a disinterest in the subject (which should not matter to a CSS candidate) or because of an over-confidence in one's abilities due to one's educational background.

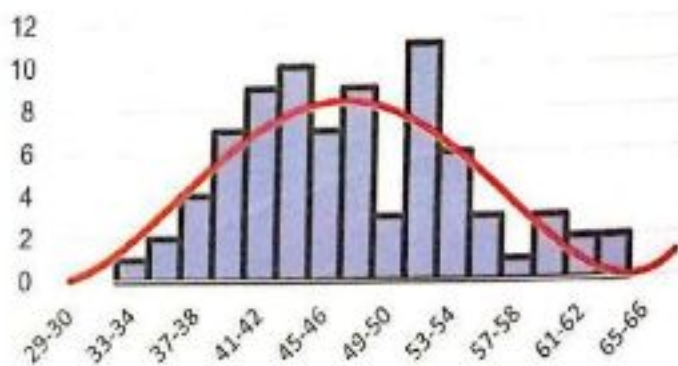
General Science and Ability



### Current Affairs

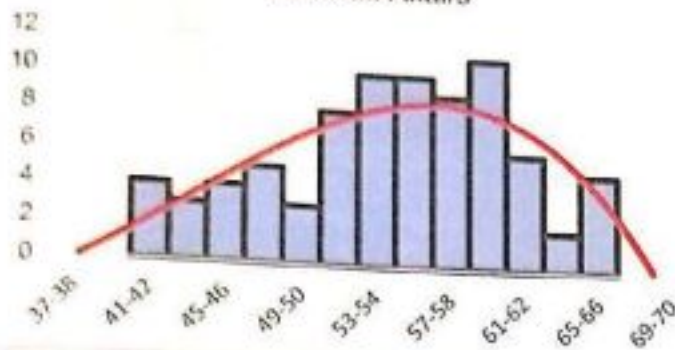
This subject too had a low average and a wide 68% range, as shown in the graph. Those lying at either end of the graph (almost equally distributed between the higher and lower rungs) either had a significant advantage or a great disadvantage due to most candidates being clustered in the centre. But the fact that even those candidates who got allocated had low score in the subject—as low as between 33 and 40—was revealing. Given that overall the result was fine, it shows that even serious candidates at times take a subject or two non-seriously, putting themselves at a loss—those who scored below 40 can be said to have fallen almost 20-25 marks behind the higher scoring candidates, a huge difference in CSS.

Current Affairs





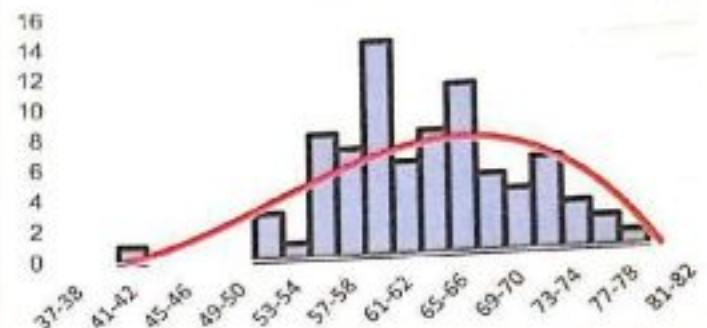
Pakistan Affairs



### Pakistan Affairs

It was surprising to see that despite the similar nature of Pakistan and Current Affairs (same attitude of mind) and overlapping syllabi, the candidates performed much better in Pakistan Affairs as the rightwards shifting graph shows that most of the candidates were clustered in the higher range of marks. High scoring candidates cannot be said to have gained an edge in this case but low scoring candidates damaged their totals. This shows that these two subjects are especially punishing for those who score low in them. Furthermore, it also reveals that candidates need to learn to differentiate how similar seeming questions in the two subjects need to be attempted.

Islamic Studies



### Islamic Studies

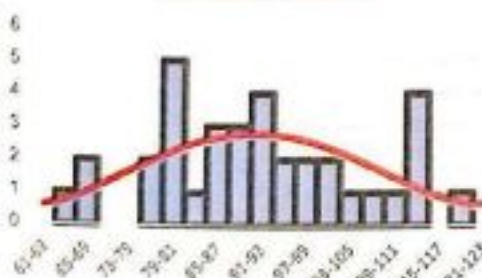
Unexpectedly, candidates were able to score high marks in Islamic Studies, which has been the case since the syllabus got revised to reflect a more holistic approach towards this subject. The exam has been geared to test the knowledge of not just the basic tenets and rote memorization abilities but also of the philosophical underpinnings of those tenets, their practical utilization, and their relevance to Muslims today. It is also an undeniable fact that over the past few years, candidates have shifted to reading better books and texts on Islamic Studies which reflects in their results. Where previously the candidates used to aim for passing marks in Islamic Studies, now they must aim to score around 55 marks to not lose out in the competition.

## Group-wise Analysis of Popular Optional Subjects

This section will follow the same pattern as that of the above section for the most popular optional subjects (for which enough data was available for such an analysis to be presented) with the same aim—to help candidates prepare better for their exams. However, subjects belonging to the same Group of Optional subjects as per the groupings done by FPSC in its syllabus will be presented and analyzed simultaneously.

Optional Subject	Average	Minimum - Maximum (Marks)	Range of 68% Candidates
International Relations	91.5	66 - 119	77.8 - 105.3
Political Science	119.3	93 - 148	106.4 - 132.2
International Law	43.1	33 - 70	33.5 - 52.6
Criminology	63.6	36 - 84	52.8 - 74.4
Environmental Science	51.4	40 - 68	44.3 - 58.4
Gender Studies	50.6	35 - 64	44.4 - 56.8
Punjabi	69.1	40 - 81	60.1 - 78.0
Sociology	63.1	40 - 76	54.5 - 71.7
History of USA	59.4	37 - 81	49.6 - 69.1

International Relations

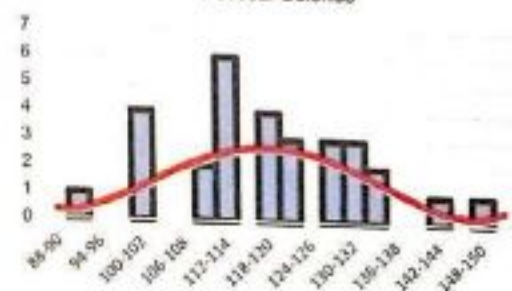


### International Relations and Political Science

The distribution of both subjects was almost similar with both having same standard deviations. But the main difference was in the average marks with candidates scoring relatively lower in IR than in Political Science. The number of candidates who scored in the upper range of IR (more than 105) was, however, more than that of those who scored in the lower range (below 78). For Political Science, those scoring in the lower range outnumbered those scoring in the higher range. This shows that competition within this

subject is quite tough and that those going for IR need to read quality material (incorporating post 9/11 and New Cold War - US vs. China - perspectives on IR) to make their mark.

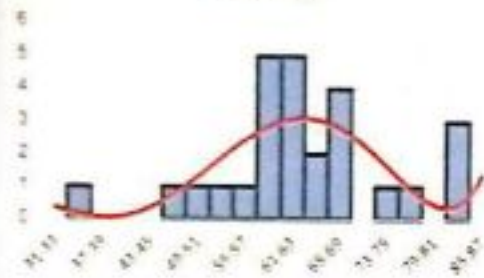
Political Science



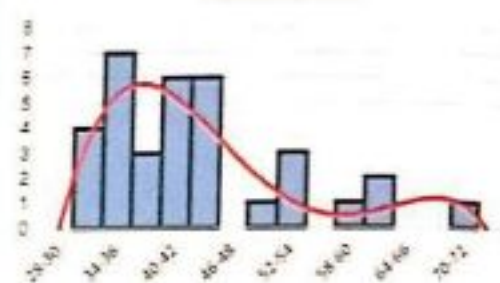


The same applies to these two subjects as well, where candidates were generally able to score well on criminology (80% scored 58 or above) but were unable to score competitive marks in international law (only 12% scored 58 or above, and 76% scored below 46). This was probably because of the more technical nature of International Law as a subject which demands that candidates read books of international standard rather than those written by South Asian writers which are seldom updated to incorporate new case laws and perspectives. Criminology, on the other hand, being a new subject has fresh material to offer in most of the books available. But with every passing year, candidates opting criminology will have to shift towards better reading material on it, as locally written books often fail to include updates and modern perspectives which seem to be growing in criminology rapidly.

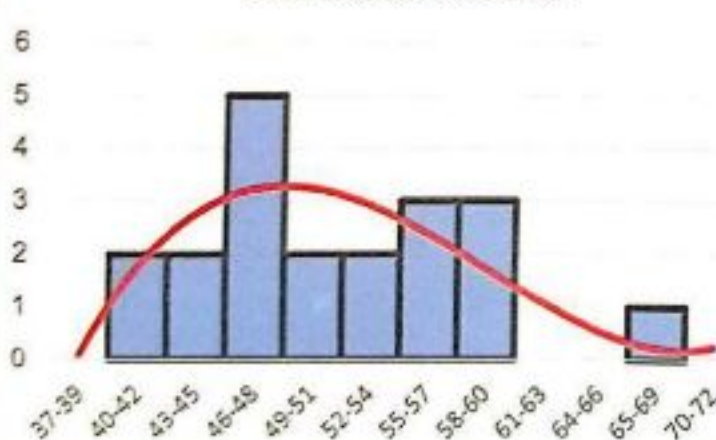
Criminology



International Law



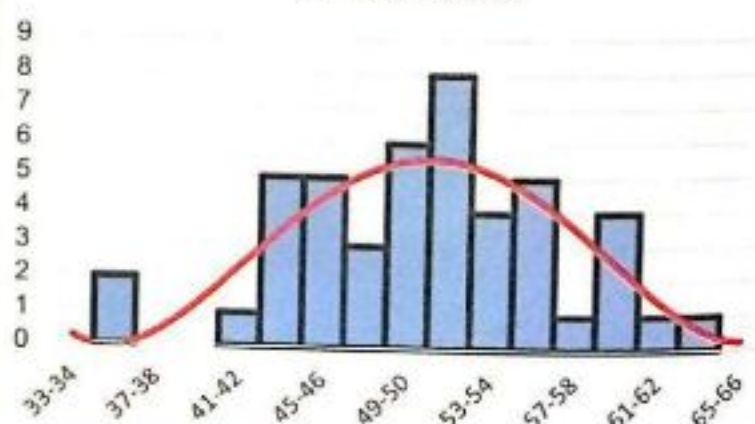
Environmental Science



### Environmental Science and Gender Studies

Both subjects followed the same distribution more or less, with the graph of Gender Studies being smoother due to the larger number of candidates who opted for it. Average marks for both were approximately 51 and even the range within which 68% of the candidates lay were similar from 44 to 58 marks. This comes as no surprise since both subjects are relatively new (thereby similar quality reading material being available for both), require their own specific skill set and aptitude, and are opted for by candidates as per their own abilities rather than the flawed trend mentality that prevails

Gender Studies

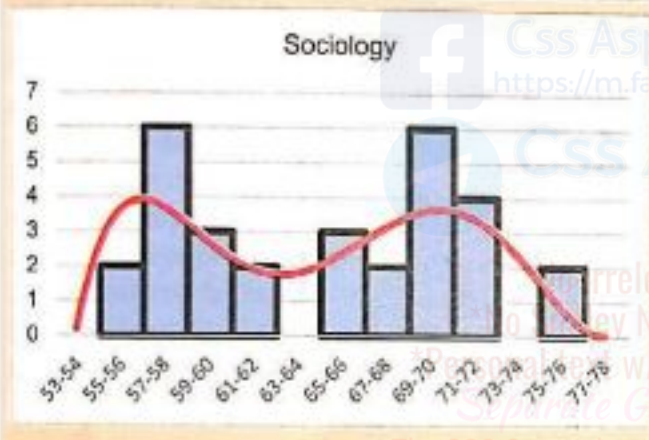


among candidates otherwise—this should be the criteria for opting any subject rather than looking for trends that do not exist. The results also show the benefits of this—candidates performed equally well on both and were neither at an advantage nor at a disadvantage because of their decision. This goes on to show that FPSC is indeed discouraging trend mentality and encouraging candidates to go for subjects that are more suited to them personally.



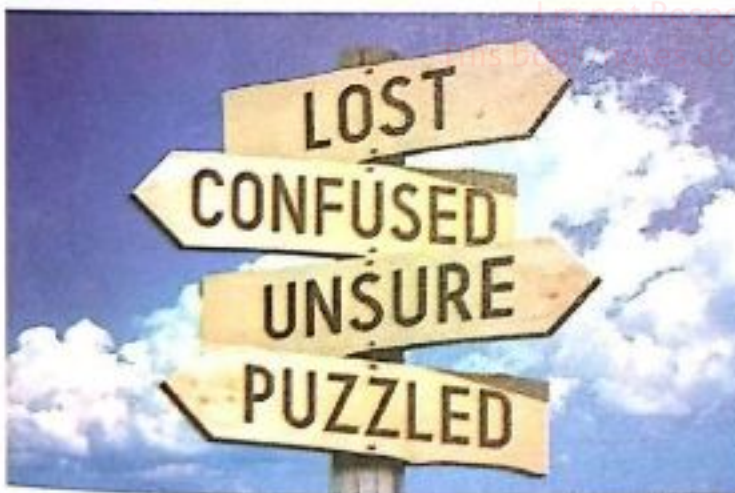
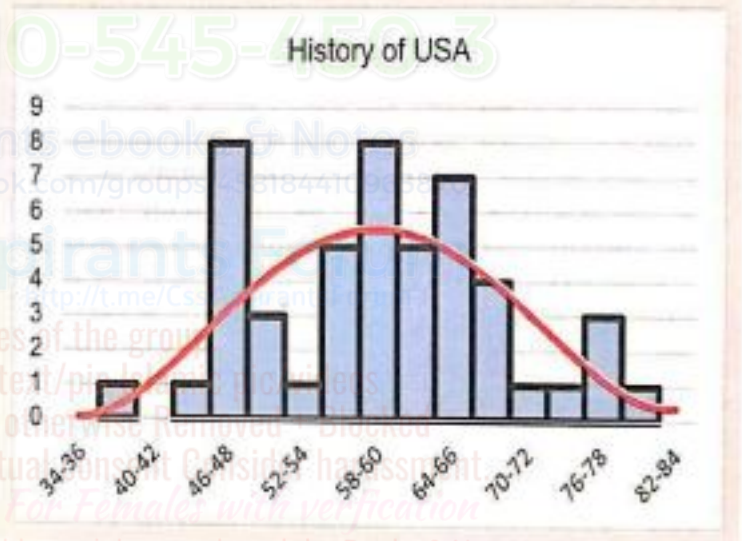
### Punjabi and Sociology

Both subjects once again yielded good scores overall. The scores for Punjabi remained concentrated at the higher side with almost 90% of the candidates scoring more than 60 marks in it, which is true of languages in general as candidates go only for the language that they have a good grip on. Sociology, on the other hand, presented a very different picture. Candidates were concentrated at extremes rather than around the average marks which shows that preparation mattered a lot and the exam sifted the well-prepared candidates from the less-prepared ones quite clearly.



### History of USA

Among all the subjects of history, most candidates choose the History of USA because of simple facts: its syllabus is shorter than those of other history subjects and the length and depth in which other history subjects need to be prepared is not justified by the 100 marks that have been allotted to them (they require the time given to a 200 marks subject but are worth only 100 marks). The number of candidates who opt for US History is astounding and, therefore, its curve follows a smooth normal distribution with a high average of almost 60. This is probably because candidates have updated their reading materials and changed their approach to preparation of US history after the bitter experience of 2018 exams when those preparing from typical substandard texts of the subject failed to even pass the exam. Moreover, very few students lie on the curve's extremes which shows that amongst those who opted for History of USA, not many were able to create an advantage, or suffered a disadvantage.



**Note/Disclaimer:** The given data reflect the score distribution among candidates who qualified the Competitive Exam 2019 (CSS 2019). Moreover, the purpose of the analysis is not to promote any subject but to identify the score range for the subjects from a scientific point of view and to highlight that there are high scorers in every subject. Other optional subjects have not been commented on because the data available for them was insufficient to draw any significant and meaningful conclusions, though it must be said that almost every subject had candidates scoring more than 60% marks. Lastly, it must be kept in mind that this is a research endeavour and like every other research work, it is investigative in nature, and not conclusive.





# HUMAN NATURE-CUM-CONSTITUTION



Mawra Raja

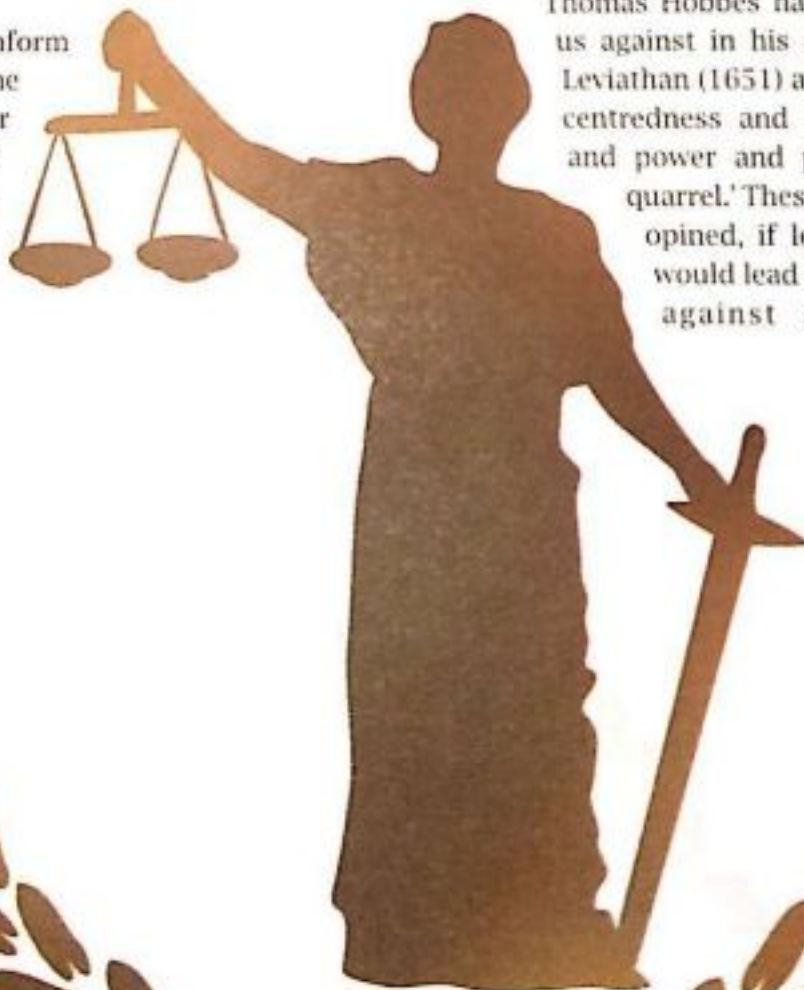
"Is there something known as a large constitution?" asked a pupil. Well, the answer is dual, depending on how one construes what has been asked. If one means large in the sense of size, the answer is yes, and probably what comes immediately to mind is the Constitution of India, with 395 articles in 22 parts, and 8 schedules and 100 amendments. But, if one takes it to mean if there is any kind of classification of constitution known as large, the answer is a straight NO. This is because constitutions have typically been classified in binary divisions such as codified/uncodified, unitary/federal, monarchical/republican, separation of powers/fusion of powers, rigid/flexible and supranationalist/intergovernmentalist.

These classifications are valuable as they inform us about the variety of constitutions in the nation-states, but they do not draw our attention to a much more important distinction between 'capital C' constitution (constitution as a text) and 'small c' Constitution (constitution as a system). When, in fact, this analytical distinction

is of foremost importance, and should be the focus of any student or citizen when evaluating a legal system. This is because the constitutional legal orders of many countries do not mirror-image the theoretical guarantee found in the text. An example is the Constitution of Cyprus which, by virtue of Article 1, talks about there being a President and a Vice-President, but, in reality, constitutes only the former; for the latter is vacant since long due to civil strife and political divisions within the country.

Yet as much as it is important to understand the larger constitutional order, it is equally important to understand the relationship constitution bears with human nature. For much of what the constitution of any type does is to shield against the vices of human nature about which

Thomas Hobbes had forewarned us against in his seminal work *Leviathan* (1651) as 'greed, self-centredness and love of glory and power and propensity to quarrel.' These impulses, he opined, if left unchecked would lead to a 'war of all against all, making



This write-up argues that there are two misconceptions about constitutions. Firstly, that they are rules governing state organs either through text or system. Secondly, that if the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, is replaced with Western ideals/provisions, only then can real change come about in our system. The fact of the matter is that constitutions are rules governing human nature and their success is in their control and check of the same.



commercial activity and much of the routine matters almost impossible.' It was, therefore, a sine qua non of human existence to subject ourselves to governance by rules. On this lens, then, constitution is a need-based human-nature-controlling set of rules arising out of the vices of human nature which can disturb the equilibrium of justice in a given society. Perhaps, it would be more accurate to say that the idea of society as a club of human coexistence would be impossible without such rule-based governance. It is, therefore, an essential component of our coexistence to set out the rules, and live by them.

Importantly, in countries with a codified constitution such rules are enshrined in a documented text, making it possible for the constitutional court to check the lawfulness of executive powers or national laws against it. Thus, in Pakistan, to find out if the National Assembly has been lawfully dissolved, the Court refers to Article 58 of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, (hereinafter COP) which empowers the Prime Minister to tender advice to the President to do the same. So, if it is tendered by anybody other than the PM, the court nullifies the dissolution.

Likewise, the promulgation of presidential ordinances is tested against the Constitution. For instance, if the incumbent President of Pakistan, Dr Arif Alvi, promulgates an ordinance, its lawfulness will be adjudged on the touchstone of Article 89 of the COP. That is to say the Court will find them ultra vires if they are made when Parliament is in session

with effect for more than 120 days. On this account, the Islamabad High Court had adjudged the Pakistan Medical Commission Ordinance, 2019, null and void. The purpose, as we learn of a codified constitution, then, is to guide human nature against its corruption.

On the other hand, in countries with uncoded constitution, the control over the tyranny of human nature is achieved through application of common law constructs such as traditional grounds of judicial review (which make it possible for the court to check the lawfulness of executive action taken under delegated legislation or prerogative power, and denounce/declare it as irrational, illegal or procedurally unfair) or through reference to international treaties such as European Convention on Human Rights of the European Union. As regards the former, if the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Boris Johnson, advises Queen Elizabeth II to prorogue parliament, the lawfulness of this prerogative

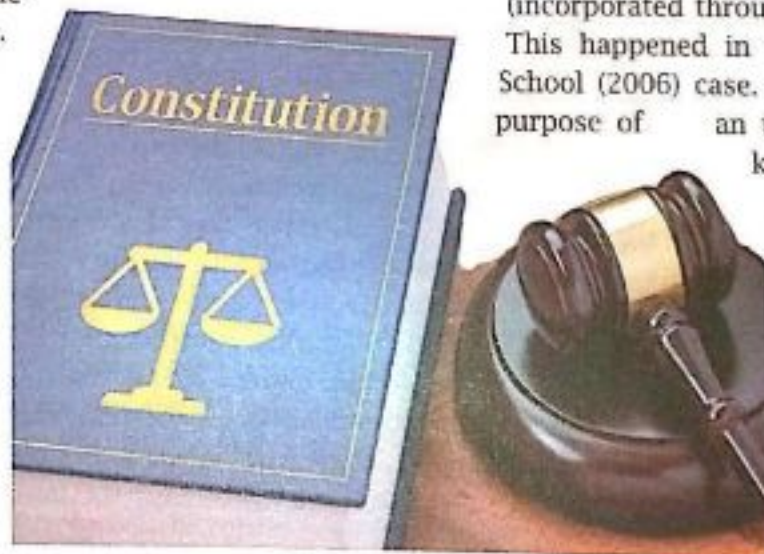
power could be tested against the constitutional role of parliament. That is to say, his advice could be found unlawful if its purpose is to defeat parliament from holding the government accountable or voicing its opinion on a matter. Such a situation arose in *Miller vs. Prime Minister* (2019). Here, the UK Supreme Court held that the advice of the British prime minister to Her Majesty the Queen on 27th August 2019 to prorogue parliament for five weeks right before the Brexit date of 31st October 2019 was unlawful. In paragraph 57 of the judgement, Lady Hale [President of the Court] opined that its unlawfulness drew from its use to paralyze the House of Commons from having its say in how the Brexit process should come about. Thus, the PM could not use the veil of prerogative power to forfeit parliament's judgement to bring about Brexit through a Withdrawal Agreement.

As for the latter, if one is figuring out whether a British school has violated its pupils' right to freedom of religion and conscience or not, reference would be made to Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights (incorporated through Human Rights Act, 1998).

This happened in the infamous *Denbigh High School* (2006) case. Again, we see here that the purpose of an uncoded constitution is to keep a watch on vices of human nature: that is to stop the PM from imposing his will on parliament in the first case, and deter educational institutions from violating pupils' rights in the second.

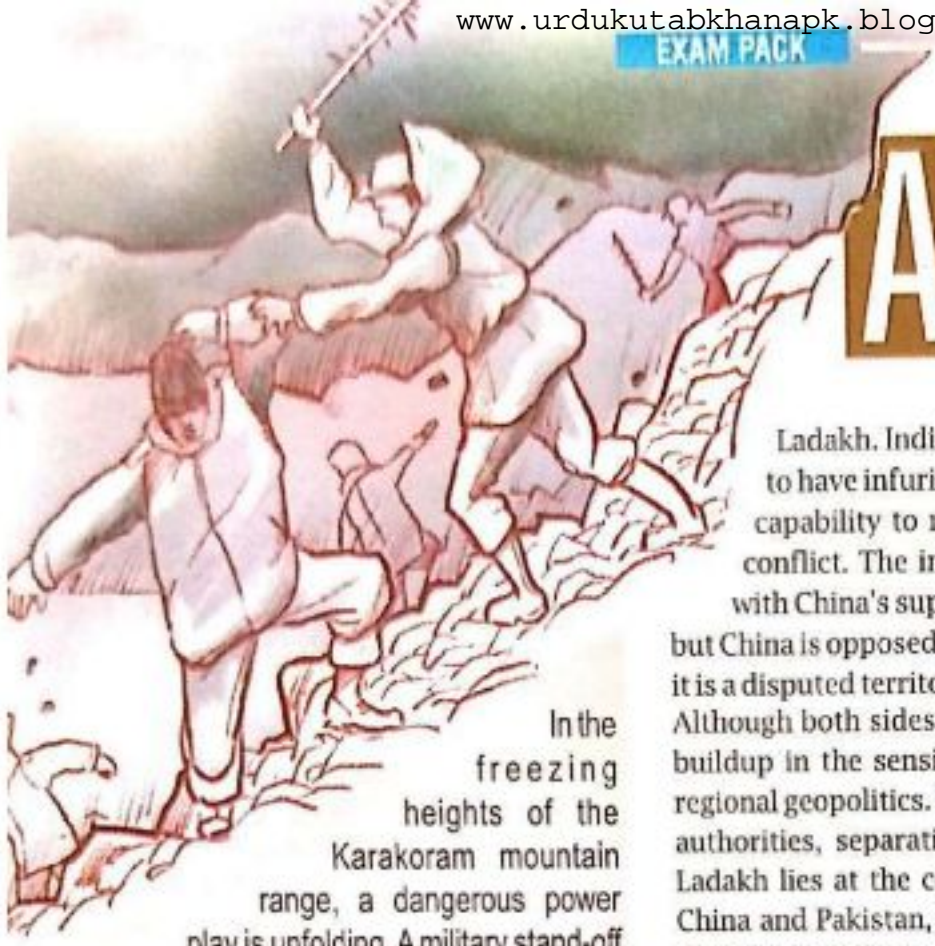
Thus, from the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the constitutional value of any constitution is dependent not on its form, but on its success to control human arbitrariness, unfairness and violence. Precisely, there is a lesson for those citizens of Pakistan who talk about substituting our current constitution with provisions found in other Western constitutions: that the goodness of any constitution depends on its control of human nature and its vices. Thence, instead of substituting our constitution with other-world constitutional rules, we should commit ourselves to delivering on those that are already found in the COP. This is because the follies of human nature can come under check only with practical application of rules whether found in text or system. ■

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Asif Khan Shinwari



In the freezing heights of the Karakoram mountain range, a dangerous power play is unfolding. A military stand-off between India and China on their disputed border in the Himalayas has escalated into deadly clashes. The face-off in eastern Ladakh region, which was carved out of Indian-Occupied Kashmir last August, started on May 5 and 6 when soldiers of both sides were involved in a skirmish. Indian officials say that Chinese troops had, within days, encroached on the Indian side of the demarcation line in the Ladakh region further to the west. India, too, has moved extra troops to positions opposite.

**A**lthough there are several reasons why tensions are rising now, competing strategic goals lie at the root, and both sides blame each other. India has built a new road in what experts consider the remotest and the most vulnerable area along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in Ladakh. India's decision to ramp up infrastructure seems to have infuriated China. The road could boost New Delhi's capability to move men and materiel rapidly in case of a conflict. The infrastructure is aimed at narrowing the gap with China's superior network of roads that it built years ago, but China is opposed to any Indian construction in the area, saying it is a disputed territory.

Although both sides have played down the incident, the military buildup in the sensitive region is ominous, given the emerging regional geopolitics. Recently declared a Union Territory by Indian authorities, separating it from the disputed state of Kashmir, Ladakh lies at the confluence of three nuclear states, i.e. India, China and Pakistan, and has a landlocked area of 50,000 square kilometres with a population of around 300,000 people—46% Muslims, 40% Buddhists, and 12% Hindus. It is the area where physical military collision between the armies of the two countries can take place, which makes it a potential flashpoint.

The India-China border conflict stretches back to at least 1914, when representatives from Britain, the Republic of China and Tibet gathered in Simla (now in India) to negotiate a treaty that would determine the status of Tibet and effectively settle the borders between China and British India. The Chinese, balking at proposed terms that would have allowed Tibet to be autonomous and remain under Chinese control, refused to sign the deal. But Britain and Tibet signed a treaty establishing what would be called the McMahon Line, named after a British colonial official, Henry McMahon, who proposed the border. India maintains that the

## India-China

# STANDOFF

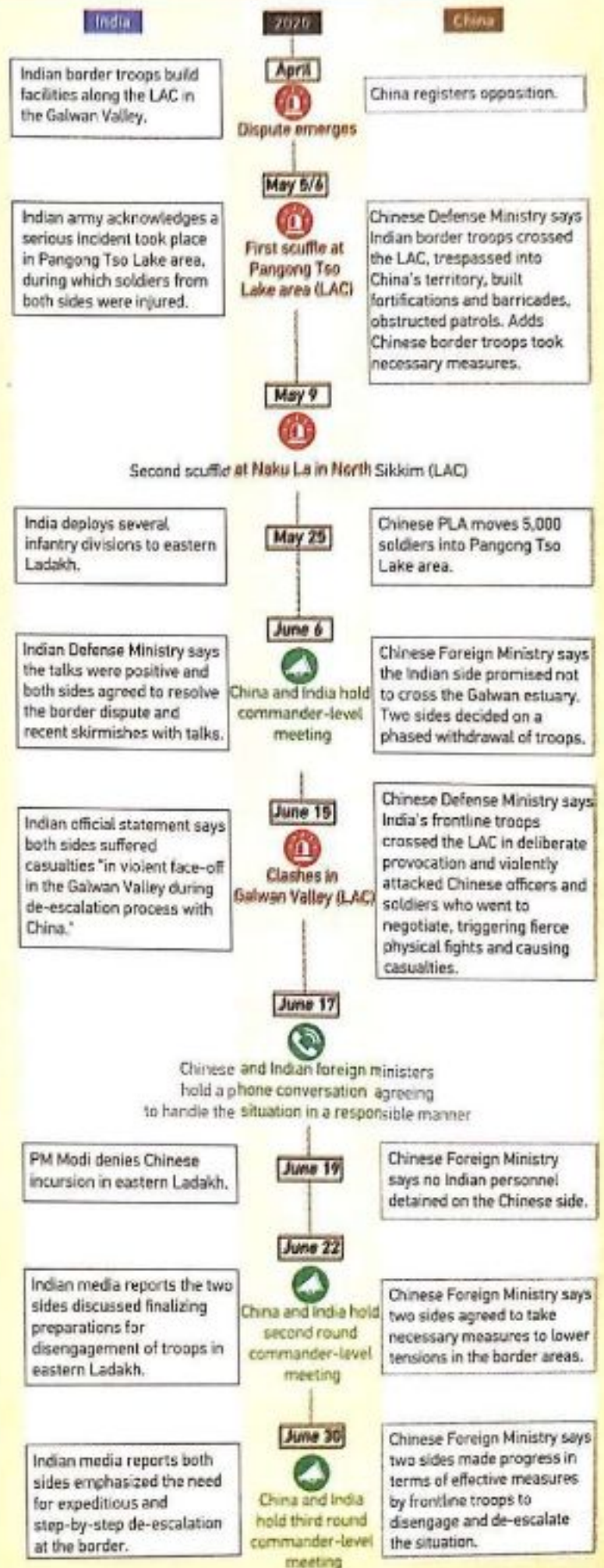
Dialogue is the only pragmatic option



McMahon Line, a 550-mile frontier that extends through the Himalayas, is the official legal border between China and India. But China has never accepted it.

The China-India border dispute covers nearly 3,500 km (2,175 miles) of frontier that the two countries call the Line of Actual Control. The two nuclear-armed neighbours have a chequered history of face-offs and overlapping territorial claims along the poorly-drawn LAC separating the two sides. The LAC is poorly demarcated because the presence of rivers, lakes and snowcaps means it can shift. Representing two of the world's largest armies, the soldiers on either side had come face to face at many points. The two countries fought a bitter war in 1962 that spilled into Ladakh. In this war, India was humiliated and it lost a lot of its territory; Beijing retained Aksai Chin, a strategic corridor linking Tibet to China. Both sides see the area as strategically, economically and militarily important. India still claims the entire Aksai Chin region as well as the nearby China-controlled Shaksgam valley in northern Kashmir as its own. The tension between the two nations spilled over in 2017 in the Doklam area of the Himalayas after Indian troops moved in to prevent the Chinese military from building a road into territory claimed by Bhutan, an ally of India. The Doklam plateau is strategically significant as it gives China access to the so-called "chicken's neck" or Siliguri Corridor, which is a narrow stretch of land of about 22 kilometres connecting India's seven north-eastern sister states with the mainland. These seven states, i.e. Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura, have always remained simmering with independence movements like Indian-Occupied Kashmir, and have mostly been ruled by local nationalist political parties. Both sides withdrew troops in late August of that year and issued vague remarks about a resolution. Exactly what was decided behind the scenes was unclear, though reports that China had halted construction of the motorway suggested that Beijing backed down. In 1993, by inking the "Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility," both India and China agreed to "peaceful and friendly consultations" to resolve the boundary dispute. It was agreed not to use force and to respect the LAC. The agreement stipulated that any "contingencies or other problems arising in the areas" were to be dealt with "through meetings and friendly consultations between border personnel of the two countries." Several rounds of talks in the last three decades have failed to resolve the boundary dispute. After the recent bloody clash, the resumption of immediate

## Timeline of the China-India border face-off in 2020





contact between the Indian and Chinese leadership brought signs of relief to the region. Top Chinese and Indian generals held high-level talks in a Himalayan outpost in a bid to end the latest border standoff, which has seen thousands of troops amassing on both sides of the disputed border, between the world's two most populous nations. The talks were held in the border outpost of Maldo on the Chinese side of the LAC—de-facto border between the two countries. Similar reconciliation attempts have stalled in the past. The communication may prevent the escalation of the conflict temporarily, but without a permanent solution, the probability of escalation remains.

A strain in the relationship between New Delhi and Beijing was expected to take place not only because of border issues, but also due to broader opposing geopolitical interests. Last month, Narendra Modi-led BJP government put curbs on Chinese investment, an act Beijing called 'discriminatory'. India's support for Tibet and its growing security and defence ties with the United States, Japan and Australia have also earned suspicion from Beijing. The conflict between India and China has initiated a

new cold war in the region. In the long term, India will be bent upon harming more the Chinese economic interests.

China's closer ties with Pakistan, which has long-running disputes with India, as well as Nepal have not pleased New Delhi either.

Moreover, China's 'too big to fail' Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and its massive defence budget pose a serious geopolitical threat to India. China's defence budget at \$261 billion is more than three times that of India at \$71 billion.

As for Pakistan, the Chinese move came as a blessing in disguise as it unquestionably proves the point that Kashmir is an unsettled international dispute as per United Nations resolutions, Ladakh is a part of Kashmir and thus, regionally, it is a trilateral issue involving three nuclear powers, i.e. Pakistan, India and China, and thus this flashpoint has to be addressed on priority basis by the UN Security Council. Understandably, due to its evolving ties with China and rivalry with India, Pakistan has been viewing the Ladakh standoff through a Chinese lens.

The episode has gained substantial space in mainstream Pakistani media. Ever since the deadly standoff between China and India started, Pakistan has been trying to cash in on the situation. From diplomatic manoeuvring behind

the scenes to publicly bashing India for the overall developments surrounding Ladakh, Pakistan has stood on the side of China. Even though the extent of China's moves along the border remain fuzzy, it is clear that Beijing is putting heavy military pressure on India and its territorial claims. For Islamabad, seen from the zero-sum perspective that often frames India-Pakistan relations, this is an unequivocally good thing and the Sino-Indian border clash is a chance to press the advantage on the Kashmir issue. Some analysts conclude that the conflict might lessen tensions along the Line of Control (LoC) between India and Pakistan, and provide breathing space to Kashmiris in Indian-administered Kashmir. The skirmishes between these two don't match the ones between India and Pakistan where civilian casualties happen more frequently.

Strategic analysts raised the alarm that prevalent tensions between the nuclear-armed neighbours could turn into unintended full-blown military action. When soldiers from the two most populous countries in the world, which



spend more than \$300 billion on their militaries, have a standoff, it is a thing of concern to many. If the two countries face a slowdown on the border issue, the entire Himalayan region and the Indian Subcontinent will face instability. No external force can change this. Maintaining peace along border areas and friendly cooperation is in line with the two countries' interests.

Thus, the ongoing tensions must be addressed in a serious manner. In a region where there are three nuclear states, war cannot be an option. Ideally, a dialogue involving Pakistan, India and China can address thorny issues bedevilling their relations, and create the necessary grounds for peace and progress in the entire region. If one side doesn't blink soon, the consequences of this brewing nightmare will be disastrous for the people of this region.

*The writer is a Civil Servant from the 47th CTP. He holds an MPhil degree in Sociology and is currently working as a Section Officer (UT).*





# Numbers



Asad Aziz

1. Find the missing number in this series: 4, 18, ?, 100, 180, 294, 448

- (a) 48 (b) 50  
(c) 58 (d) 60

2. Find the missing number in the following series:

- 3, 5, 5, 19, 7, 41, 9, ?  
(a) 58 (b) 68  
(c) 71 (d) 79

3. Find the wrong number in the series.

- 1, 2, 6, 15, 31, 56, 91  
(a) 15 (b) 91  
(c) 31 (d) 56

4. Find out the wrong term in the series: 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16

- (a) 4 (b) 6  
(c) 8 (d) 9

5. Find out the wrong term in the series: 2, 5, 10, 50, 500, 5000

- (a) 50 (b) 500  
(c) 5000 (d) 10

6. Choose the missing terms out of the given alternatives: Z, X, S, I, R, ?, ?

- (a) G, J (b) K, M  
(c) J, I (d) J, K

7. Find the wrong number in the given series: 8, 27, 125, 343, 1381

- (a) 8 (b) 27  
(c) 343 (d) 1381

8. In the following question, various terms of an alphanumerical series are given with one or more terms missing as shown by (?). Choose the missing terms out of the given alternatives: 2Z5, 7Y7, 14X9, 23W11, 34V13, ?

- (a) 47U15 (b) 47V14  
(c) 45U15 (d) 27U24

9. What will come in place of the (?) in the following number series?

- (a) 222 (b) 397

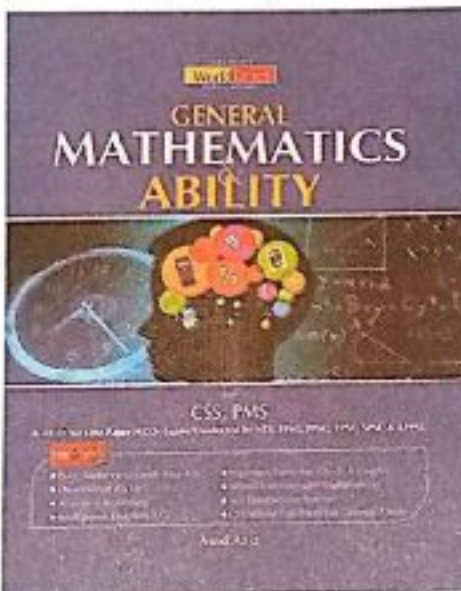
- (c) 404 (d) 415

10. Find out the wrong term in the series: 1, 5, 9, 15, 25, 37, 49

- (a) 9 (b) 15  
(c) 25 (d) 37

11. Choose the missing terms out of the given alternatives DHL, PTX, BFJ, ?

- (a) KOS (b) OIK  
(c) NRV (d) CGK



12. In this question, various terms of an alphabet series are given with one or more terms missing as shown by (?). Choose the missing terms out of the given alternatives: AZ, GT, MN, ?, YB

- (a) TH (b) KF  
(c) SH (d) RX

13. Choose the correct alternative that will continue the same pattern and replace 'x' in series: 4, 9, 25, x, 121, 169, 289, 361

- (a) 32 (b) 37  
(c) 43 (d) 49

14. What will come in place of question mark (?) in the following

number series?

- 6859, 5832, ?, 4096, 3375  
(a) 4913 (b) 4589  
(c) 4271 (d) 4147

15. Choose the missing terms out of the given alternatives: Z, S, W, O, T, K, Q, G, ?, ?

- (a) N, C (b) N, D  
(c) OC (d) OD

16. What will be the next term in: BKS, DJT, FIU, HHV, ...

- (a) IJX (b) IGX  
(c) JGW (d) JGU

17. What is the next number of the following sequence?

- 21, 77, 165, 285, .....  
(a) 404 (b) 415  
(c) 426 (d) 437

18. Find the next number in the given sequence: 11, 17, 39, 85, ?

- (a) 133 (b) 143  
(c) 153 (d) 163

19. Choose the missing terms out of the given alternatives: T, R, P, N, L, ?, ?

- (a) J, H (b) K, I  
(c) K, H (d) J, G

20. Find out the wrong term in the series: 0, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 15, 18, 24, 26, 35

- (a) 18 (b) 24  
(c) 26 (d) 35

**Explanation:**

The given sequence is a combination of two series:

i) 0, 3, 8, 15, 24, 35

ii) 2, 5, 10, 18, 26

The pattern in both i, ii is +3, +5, +7, ...

So, in ii) 18 is wrong and must be replaced by  $(10 + 7) = 17$

Asad Aziz teaches Mathematics and General Ability at World Times Institute, Lahore.



According to renowned scholar Noam Chomsky, it's not important what we cover in the class, it's important what you discover. But the state of affairs in Pakistan is heart-wrenching where educational institutes have become only degree-awarding factories as they are producing robots devoid of emotions and creativity.



# Purposeful Education

Lessons to learn from CSS 2019 result



This article is aimed to provide a critical and compelling analysis of the prevailing loopholes in our education system and to also give plausible policy directions to reap

Education is a life-encompassing process which demands comprehensive and holistic approach. *Rightly remarked the Nobel Prize-winner, Albert Einstein, "Education is not the learning of facts but the training of mind to think."* In simple words, education develops the power of mind to think critically and view the world in a logical perspective. Critical thinking and independent judgement are the inherent outcomes of effective education. It leads to the emergence of rational personality that forms the basis of an enlightened, democratic society.

The story of education in the land of the pure is grim and gloomy. This is deeply linked with historical legacy of British elitist education



examination or assessment system have produced a lot that is not capable enough to compete with the ever-growing globalizing trends of education.

In this era of knowledge-based economy, institutes of higher education are not equipped with expertise and specializations to foster research and innovative thinking. Education is not merely about socio-economic development, it is a national security issue in developing countries like Pakistan. The staggering population growth of 2.4% per annum, coupled with inadequate allocation of funds (2% of GDP), has resulted in a breeding ground for extremism and fanaticism in the youth which constitute over 65% of our population.

This is high time we converted this liability into an asset by investing liberally in the human resource development as it will open gateways to sustainable and inclusive development. Structural and systematic reforms backed by political will and technical skill are inevitable to place the country on the trajectory of peace and prosperity. A robust policymaking process,



which should include all the stakeholders to develop a broad, evidence-based mechanism on mutual consultation, seems inevitable. The underlying focus of the reforms should be on a homogenous education system with unified and innovative syllabus that can meet the challenges of the globalized world. It will largely contribute to the social justice and economic prosperity resulting in national integration.

The incumbent PTI government's agenda of human resource development is a paradigm shift from the hardware development of society to its software, at least in terms of vision.

**Way forward**

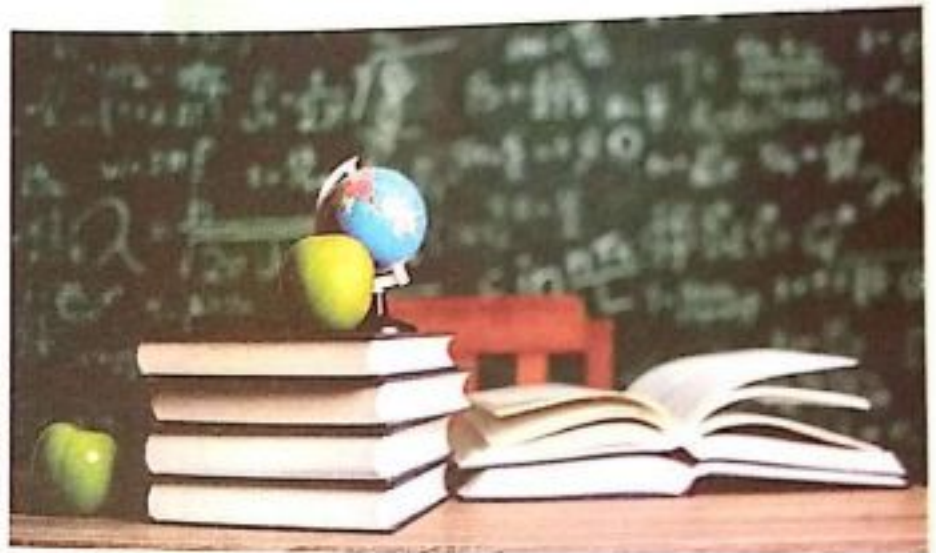
A workable policy recommendation should include the following holistic 4E (Expansion, Equity, Excellence, and Employability) strategy.

In this strategy:

'Expansion' refers to the increase in the enrollment rate at primary and higher levels of education to increase the country's overall literacy rate from 58% to a level at par with other South Asian countries like Sri Lanka, Nepal and India.

'Equity' means the inclusion of the excluded ones, i.e. to encourage female and marginalized sections of society for social and political empowerment in the underdeveloped areas of Balochistan and former FATA.

'Excellence' is to impart quality education that should



develop minds and inculcate tolerance in students. A well-formed mind is better than a well-filled mind.

'Employability' implies the production of graduates who are well equipped with professional skills that can contribute exponentially in the acquisition of employment and carrier development.

**Realization of the dream of true education**

It is need of the hour that the incumbent government materializes its leader's dream of 'Riyasat-e-Madina' that is based on the core ingredient of true education. Education reforms should be implemented in letter and spirit so as to usher to a new era of sustainable development based on egalitarian values of equality, tolerance and mutual respect. It will earn Pakistan a positive reputation in the comity of nations.

I will conclude this piece with the words of former US President Abraham Lincoln who said:

"The philosophy of school room in one generation will be the philosophy of government in the next generation." ■

*The author is currently serving as Assistant Director in a federal government department in Peshawar. He is also a CSS 2019 qualifier, allocated to CTG. He has keen interest in national and international affairs.*



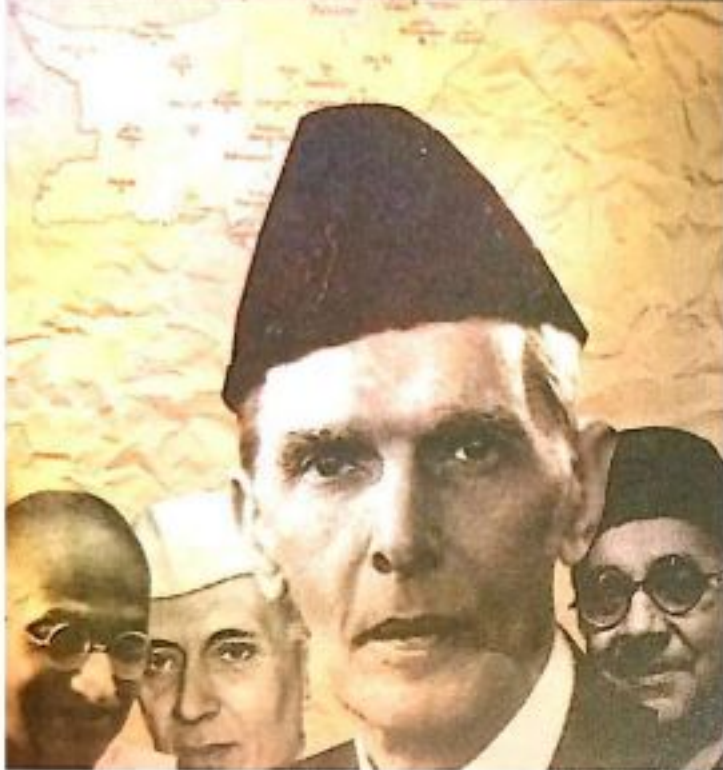


The region of Pakistan was one of the cradles of civilization. Stone-age hunter-gatherers lived on the Potohar plateau and in the Soan Valley in northern Punjab 300,000 or more years ago. Excavations on the Balochistan

1707; their rule lingered nominally until 1857. They established a sophisticated imperial administration and left a rich legacy of forts and walled cities, gardens and gateways, mosques, and tombs. In the early 17th century, European traders arrived on the subcontinent. Through

# From Jinnah to Khan

## THE STORY OF PAKISTAN RETOLD



The creation of Pakistan was a catalyst to the largest demographic movement in recorded history. Nearly seventeen million people—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs—moved in both directions between India and the two wings of Pakistan (the Eastern wing is now Bangladesh). As many as 60 million of the 95 million Muslims on the Indian Subcontinent became citizens of Pakistan at the time of its creation. Subsequently, 35 million Muslims chose to stay in India, making it the largest Muslim minority in a non-Muslim state. Scarred from birth, Pakistan's quest for survival has been as compelling as it has been uncertain. Despite the shared religion of its overwhelmingly Muslim population, Pakistan has been

the East India Company, the British became the dominant force. After the unsuccessful War of Independence of 1857, the British took direct control. Slowly a national Muslim identity emerged, championed by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898). The All India Muslim League was founded in 1906. As the subcontinent moved towards independence, it became clear that Hindu and Muslim interests could not be reconciled. The campaign to establish an independent Muslim state came to prominence in the 1920s and 30s. It was led by the philosopher and poet Mohammad Iqbal and Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Pakistan was created, as an Islamic state, out of the partition of Britain's Indian Empire, at independence in August 1947. It originally consisted of two parts, West Pakistan (now Pakistan) and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), separated by 1,600 km of Indian territory. Partition was followed by a war with India over Kashmir and the mass migration of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs to resettle within the new borders, an upheaval which led to violence, financial loss, and death on a large scale. With the arrival of Indian Muslims and the departure of Pakistan's Hindus and Sikhs, Pakistan became an almost entirely Muslim society. Jinnah, who is honoured as the Quaid-i-Azam, or great leader, died in 1948. In 1956, Pakistan became a federal republic. It has been under military rule for

plateau show a more advanced culture which flourished from 4000 to 2000 BC. At Kot Diji in the Khairpur district, an early Bronze Age culture developed in this period. These early civilizations reached their peak in the Indus valley cities, of which Harappa is the most notable. These societies had mastered town planning and pictographic writing. In 327 BC, Alexander the Great invaded with his Macedonian army. Later, Mauryans from India ruled the northern Punjab area, to be replaced by Bactrian Greeks from Afghanistan and Central Asian tribes. Different religions prevailed in turn: Buddhism (under the Mauryans), Hinduism, and, with the Arab conquest in the eighth century, Islam. Two main principalities emerged under Arab rule, that of al-Mansurah and that of Multan. The Ghaznavid sultans gained ascendancy in Punjab in the 11th century. The subsequent ascendancy of the Mughals, who originated in Central Asia, lasted from 1536 to

engaged in a precarious struggle to define a national identity, and evolve a political system for its linguistically-diverse population. Pakistan is known to have over twenty languages and over 300 distinct dialects, Urdu and English are the official languages but Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu, Balochi, and Saraiki are considered main languages. This diversity caused chronic regional tensions and successive failures in forming a constitution. Pakistan has also been burdened by full-scale wars with India, a strategically exposed northwestern frontier, and series of economic crises. It has difficulty in allocating its scarce economic and natural resources equitably. All of Pakistan's struggles underpin the dilemma of reconciling the goal of national integration with the imperatives of national security.



## THE EPOCH 1999-2008 | THE MILITARY STRIKES BACK

PRESIDENT



Muhammad Rafiq Tarar  
Jun 25, 1998 to  
Jun 20, 2001



CHIEF EXECUTIVE | PRESIDENT  
Pervez Musharraf

Oct 12, 1999 to Jun 20, 2001; 1 Apr 20, 2001, to Aug 16, 2008

PRIME MINISTER



Zafarullah Khan Jamali  
Nov 25, 2002 to  
Jun 26, 2004



Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain  
Jun 27, 2004 to  
Aug 27, 2004



Shaukat Aziz  
Aug 28, 2004 to  
Nov 15, 2007



Yousaf Raza Gilani  
Mar 25, 2008 to  
Jun 13, 2012

CHIEF OF ARMY STAFF



Gen. Pervez Musharraf  
Oct 07, 1999 to  
Nov 28, 2007



Gen. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani  
Nov 28, 2007 to  
Nov 29, 2013

CHIEF JUSTICE

Saadat Husain Siddiqui  
July 21, 1999 to Jun 20, 2001

Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry  
Jun 21, 2001 to Nov 03, 2007

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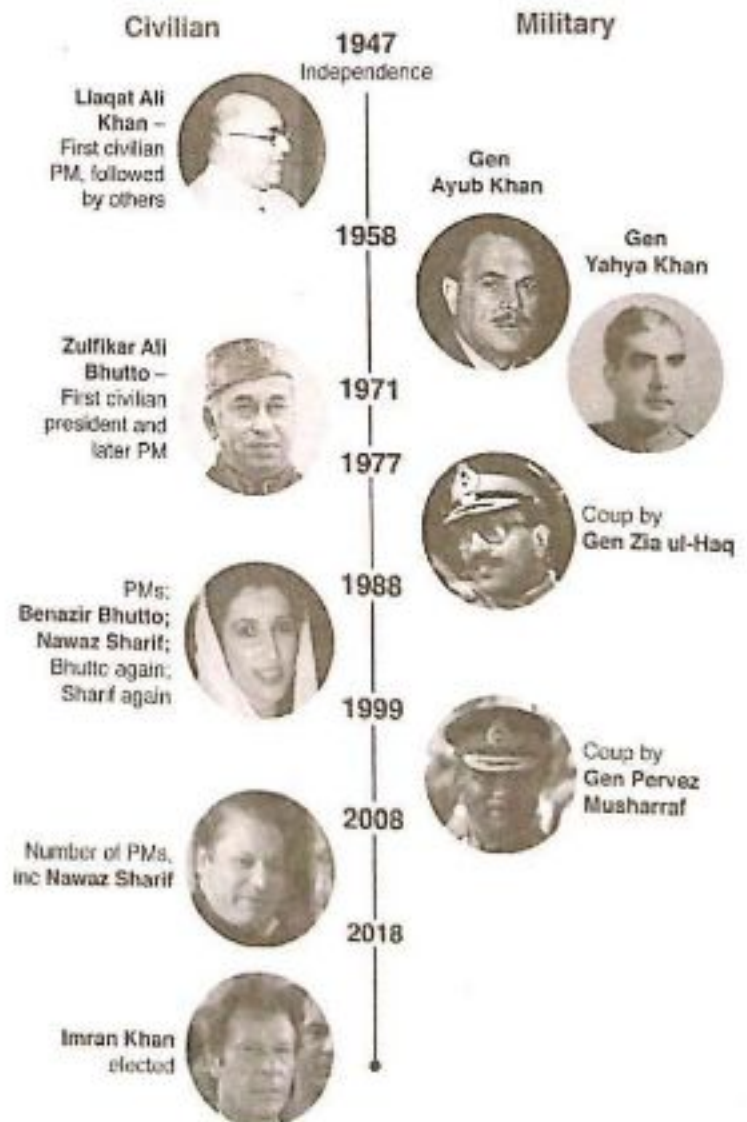
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Jun 21, 2001 to Nov 03, 2007

long periods. Its first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, was assassinated in 1951. In 1958, martial law was declared and political parties abolished. General (later Field Marshal) Ayub Khan became President in 1960 and allowed a form of guided 'basic democracy'. However, failure to win the 1965 war against India and accusations of nepotism and corruption undermined his position. In the east, the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman voiced the grievances of the Bengali population.

In the aftermath of the 1965 war with India, mounting regional discontent in East Pakistan and urban unrest in West Pakistan helped undermine Ayub Khan's authority, forcing him to relinquish power in March 1969. Ayub Khan resigned in 1969, and power was taken over by General Yahya Khan, who in December 1970 held the first national elections in independent Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League won an electoral majority in Pakistan's general election on a platform demanding greater autonomy for East Pakistan. At the same time, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) gained a majority in the West. Despite Mujib's victory, he was prevented by the Pakistan authorities from becoming Prime Minister of the combined state and the Awami League then issued their plans for a new constitution for an independent state in the East. As a result of the military intervention that ensued, civil war broke out in the eastern wing in 1971; the Indian army intervened in support of the Bengalis; Pakistan forces withdrew and Bangladesh became an independent state. In 1972, Pakistan withdrew from the Commonwealth but rejoined in 1989. Under a new constitution introduced in 1973, Bhutto became Prime Minister. He undertook agrarian reform and the nationalization of large sections of industry and the financial sector. In July 1977, the army, under General Ziaul Haq, intervened in the urban unrest. Zia declared martial law and arrested Bhutto who was convicted, after a controversial trial, of conspiring to murder a political opponent. Despite international appeals, he was hanged in April 1979. Zia promised elections within 90 days but ruled without them until his death. He assumed the presidency and embarked on a program of Islamisation. Martial law and the ban on political parties were lifted in 1985, Bhutto's daughter Benazir Bhutto returned from exile to lead the PPP and Zia died in a plane crash in August 1988.

Upon assuming power, General Zia banned all political parties and expressed his determination to recast the Pakistani state and society into an Islamic mould. By holding nonparty elections and initiating a series of Islamization policies, Zia sought to create a popular base of support in the hope of legitimizing the role of the military in Pakistani politics. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 caused Zia's regime to receive international support as a stable government

### Pakistan has swung between civilian and military rule since independence





bordering Soviet territory. Although Pakistan had now formally withdrawn from both SEATO and CENTO, and joined the Non-aligned Movement, it was regarded by the West as an important front-line state and is a major recipient of American military and financial aid. Despite a string of statistics advertising the health of the economy, murmurs of discontent, though muffled, continued to be heard. On December 30, 1985, after confirming his position in a controversial "Islamic" referendum, completing a fresh round of nonparty elections of the provincial and national assemblies, and introducing a series of amendments to the 1973 constitution, Zia finally lifted martial law and announced the dawn of a new democratic era in Pakistan.

Elections in November 1988 brought the PPP to power in coalition with the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM). However, in October 1989 the MQM left the coalition and in August 1990 Bhutto was dismissed by President Ghulam Ishaque Khan and charged with corruption. The National Assembly was dissolved and a caretaker leader installed until Islami Jamhoori Ittihad led by Nawaz Sharif won a decisive election victory in October 1990. Sharif pursued economic reforms and privatization and instituted Sharia (Islamic) law until 1993 when President and Prime Minister resigned under pressure from the military, making way for

President the power to appoint Supreme Court judges and military chiefs-of-staff.

In October 1999, Sharif ordered the dismissal of Army Chief of Staff General Pervez Musharraf and refused permission to land for the commercial aircraft in which he was returning to Karachi (from an official visit to Sri Lanka).



The army countermanded the Prime Minister's orders and immediately seized power, dismissing the government and arresting Sharif. Musharraf justified his actions as necessary to restore both the economy and the deteriorating political situation. Pending the restoration of democracy, the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) suspended Pakistan from the councils of the Commonwealth. The dispute with India

over Kashmir escalated sharply in 1999 when Kargil war broke out. More than 1,000 people were killed in the fighting. In July 1999, Pakistan finally agreed to withdraw from Indian-controlled territory, but the state of tension, which had been heightened by the nuclear testing of 1998 (India had detonated five nuclear devices on 11 and 13 May 1998 and Pakistan responded with six on 28 and 30 May), persisted. At the invitation of Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in 2001 President General Pervez Musharraf attended a summit in India, focusing on their dispute over Kashmir. Although there was no substantive

## THE EPOCH 2013-2017 | AT THE CROSSROADS

### PRESIDENT



Mamnoon  
Hussain  
Sep 09, 2013  
to date



PRIME MINISTER  
Nawaz Sharif

Jan 08, 2013 to Jul 28, 2017

### PRIME MINISTER



Shahid Khaqan  
Abbasi  
Aug 01, 2017  
to date

### CHIEF OF ARMY STAFF



Gen. Ashfaq  
Parvez Kayani  
Nov 08, 2013 to  
Nov 04, 2014



Gen. Raheel  
Sharif  
Nov 28, 2014 to  
Nov 29, 2016



Gen. Qamar  
Javed Bajwa  
Nov 29, 2016  
to date

### CHIEF JUSTICE

Tassaddug Hussain Jibbi  
Dec 17, 2013 to Jul 05, 2014

Nasir ul-Mulk  
Jul 06, 2014 to Aug 10, 2015

Jawwad S. Khattaji  
Aug 17, 2015 to Sep 04, 2015

Arifur Rahman Jamil  
Sep 15, 2015 to Dec 30, 2016

Mian Saqib Nisar  
Dec 31, 2016 to date

fresh elections which brought Benazir Bhutto back to power by a small majority. In November 1996, President Sardar Farooq Khan Leghari, prompted by the army high command and opposition leaders, used the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution, and dissolved the National Assembly, bringing down the Bhutto government on allegations of corruption, financial incompetence, and human rights violations. New elections were held in February 1997. Sharif was able to gain the PPP's support to achieve the two-thirds majority necessary to repeal the Eighth Amendment, ending the President's ability to dissolve the National Assembly. He also took over from the

outcome, this first face-to-face meeting between leaders of the two countries since 1999 was characterized by a new interest on both sides in seeking a resolution to this long-standing problem. However, by May 2002, India had mobilized a vast army along the Line of Control and the two countries were again on the brink of war. Tension eased considerably in October 2002 when India reduced its number of troops along the LOC; diplomatic relations were restored in August 2003 and a ceasefire along the Line of Control was agreed and took effect from 26 November 2003. Peace talks between India and Pakistan began in 2004, marking a historic advance in relations between the



## THE EPOCH 2008-13 | AFTER THE ASSASSINATION



**PRESIDENT**

Asif Ali Zardari

September 09, 2008 | September 09, 2013

### PRIME MINISTER



Yousaf Gilani  
Mar 25, 2008 to  
Jun 19, 2012



Raja Pervaiz  
Ashraf  
Jun 22, 2012 to  
Mar 24, 2013



Nawaz Sharif  
Jun 5, 2013 to  
July 28, 2017

### CHIEF OF ARMY STAFF



Gen. Ashfaq  
Pervez Kayani  
Nov 28, 2007 to  
Nov 28, 2013

### CHIEF JUSTICE

Abdul Hamid Dogar  
Nov 05, 2007 to Mar 21, 2009

Shikhar Muhammad Chaudhry  
Mar 22, 2009 to Dec 11, 2013

two countries. The talks led to the restoration of communication links and a range of confidence-building measures, including coordinated relief efforts in the aftermath of the October 2005 earthquake. In 2008, Pervez Musharraf left the charge of the country as a president and the brutal accidental killing of Benazir Bhutto in December 2007 brought the sympathy vote for PPP, and Asif Ali Zardari became the president of the country. Elections 2013 brought PML-N in power and Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Pakistan's 70th year saw the disqualification of three-time premier Nawaz Sharif from holding public office. This occurred as a result of the Panama Papers leaks, which revealed that the Prime Minister's family owned properties in London that could not be explained in terms of how the money for the acquisitions was earned. Although Nawaz Sharif was disqualified for life from holding public office and stepped down from the premiership after the Supreme Court decided against him, the PML-N went on to complete a full term under Abbasi's leadership, with the transition to the next elected government proceeding by the Constitution. With elections held as scheduled on 25 July 2018, Pakistan has marked a decade of electoral democracy. Pakistan crisis over Kashmir, have been few and far between. It does not, at this stage, appear that the

PTI government has the wisdom or ability to deliver on its promise of meaningful change and address the existential challenges that Pakistan faces. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had always envisioned a democratic Pakistan and many of his successors have struggled towards this goal, but not more than maintaining their platforms of power. Ironically, such political instability plagues a country where number one objective of its leaders is to secure their power. Maybe it is time for a new equation. The actions of both civil and military leaders have exhaustively tried the Pakistani people and their struggle as a nation. Pakistan faces the unenviable task of setting government priorities by the needs of its diverse and unevenly developed constituent units. Regardless of the form of government, civilian or military, Islamic or secular, solutions of the problem of mass illiteracy and economic inequities on the one hand, and the imperatives of national integration and national security, on the other, will also determine the degree of political stability or instability, that Pakistan faces in the decades ahead. But the people and the nation persevere offering the world great cultural, religious, and intellectual traditions. ■

The writer is a PhD Scholar (English Literature).  
He can be reached at: hbz77@yahoo.com

## THE EPOCH 1988-1990/1993-1996 | DAUGHTER OF THE EAST

### PRESIDENT



Ghulam  
Ishaq Khan  
Aug 17, 1988 to  
Jul 19, 1993



Farooq  
Leghari  
Nov 14, 1993 to  
Dec 02, 1997



**PRIME MINISTER**

Benazir Bhutto

Dec 02, 1988 to Aug 06, 1992 | Oct 19, 1993 to Nov 06, 1996

### CHIEF OF ARMY STAFF



Mirza  
Aslam Beg  
Aug 17, 1988 to  
Aug 12, 1992



Abdul Waheed  
Kakar  
Jan 12, 1993 to  
Jan 12, 1996



Jehangir  
Karamat  
Jan 13, 1996 to  
Oct 07, 1999

### CHIEF JUSTICE

Muhammad Haleem  
Mar 25, 1991 to Dec 31, 1993

Muhammad Afzal Zullah  
Jan 01, 1994 to Apr 19, 1995

Nasim Hassan Shah  
Apr 19, 1995 to Apr 14, 1996

Sajad Ali Shah  
Jul 05, 1996 to Dec 23, 1999



**C**limate change is an evolving, living and dynamic threat that cannot be ignored. Over the years, this phenomenon has evolved from an environmental issue to a significant security challenge. Its seriousness can be underlined that it is being debated in security as well as in development apparatus. In today's national security arrangements, it has added new stress and hostile factors which have serious implications. It can act as a catalyst for auspicious political, economic and social change, if not engaged effectively.

A recent report by World Meteorological Organization (WMO)—released on the 10th March 2020—says that several heat records have been broken in recent years and decades; last year was recorded as the second warmest on record, with 2016 being the warmest year so far. However, last decade (2011–2020) was the warmest on record. In 2019, fierce weather events, some of which were unusual in scale, took place in many regions of the world. The monsoon experienced rainfall above the long-term mean in India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Myanmar. Besides, flooding claimed some 2,200 lives in the region. Moreover, Australia witnessed its driest year ever, and Central America, parts of Southern America and Southern Africa received abnormally low rains. Some regions of South America

were also hit by floods in January. In the United States alone, around \$20 billion were estimated in total economic losses.

Hence, there is no denying the fact that climate change has impacted every region of the world, but, the vulnerability is much higher in the Global South than in the Global North, including Australia and New Zealand. Most of the world's 820 million undernourished people inhabit these two continents. Ironically, the world's top 10 GHG-emitting countries account for 62% of the total global greenhouse gases (GHGs)—China being the biggest emitter at 26%, followed by the United States, European Union, and India, with 13%, 7.8% and 6.7%, respectively. It is perplexing to note that the huge price for this is paid by developing countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar, which are already facing severe socio-economic problems and are unable to meet basic necessities for their citizens. Needless to say, it could be a threat to the very existence such countries in coming decades, if not combated at the earliest. In Pakistan's context, climate change can act as a threat multiplier. Amid decreasing water per capita, burgeoning population and flatter economy, an addition of climate crisis is likely to make the equation more complex. Although Pakistan makes a

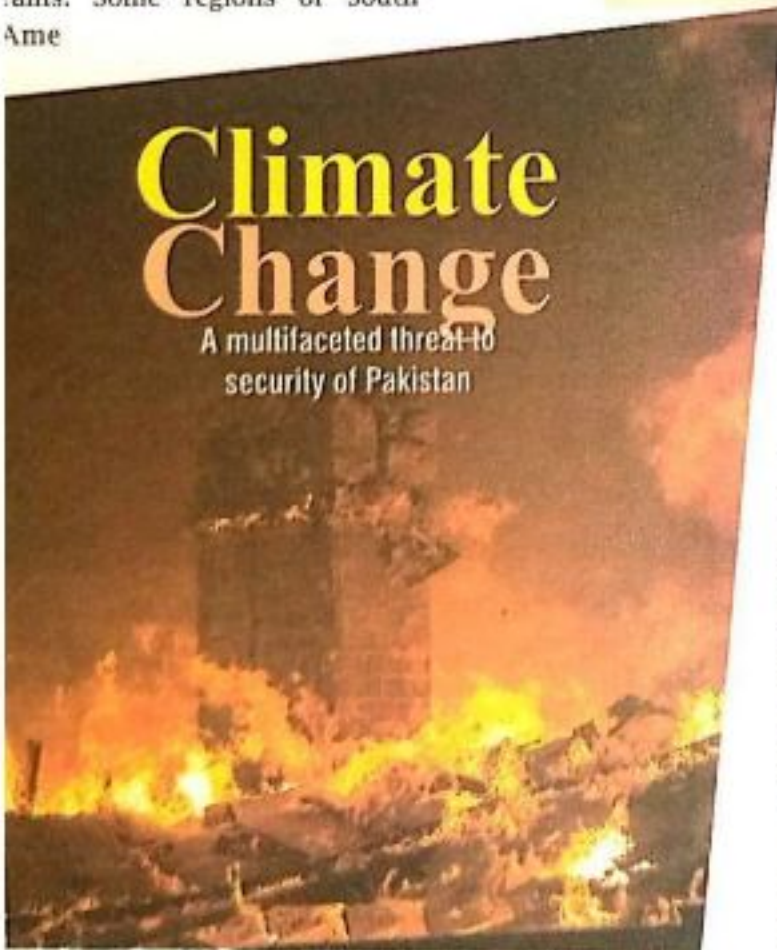
Humankind is faced with a looming climate crisis. An immediate, perpetual and common response to cope with this situation is inevitable. According to a 2018 report by Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), there are only 12 years for global warming to be kept to a maximum of 1.5°C, a threshold beyond which irreversible chain reaction would occur. Even an increase of half a degree will seriously worsen the risk of floods, droughts, extreme heat waves and poverty for millions of people. The effects of climate change are appearing across the world in the form of fires, melting glaciers, rising sea levels and recurrent hurricanes.

negligible contribution of 0.34% to the GHG emissions, it suffers disproportionately due to its geographical location.

The Global Climate Risk Index (CRI) 2020, released by a think-tank Germanwatch on 15th January 2020, ranked Pakistan 5th among the countries most vulnerable to climate change. The country suffered economic losses worth \$3.8 billion, lost 9,989 lives and witnessed 152 extreme weather events from 1999 to 2018. It further reported that Pakistan's vulnerability to climate change is also increasing. The impacts on the country are already visible in the form of changing hydrological cycle, changing precipitation pattern, frequency and intensity of heat waves, water-availability periods, droughts, precipitation events and water-induced natural disasters. Climate change has made Pakistan's already volatile matrix more complex, posing direct threat to its security. National security means safeguarding the interests and well-being of the masses within the geographical boundaries of a country. Its matrix related to climate change mainly rotates around water security (availability), and it is the most elastic component. Besides, floods, decreasing glaciers, drought and sea intrusion are major threats. If not

# Climate Change

A multifaceted threat to security of Pakistan





addressed effectively, it would prove catastrophic for the population as food security and economy will be jeopardized. Eventually, it will have far-reaching consequences in the shape of mass movements in search of livelihoods, social unrest and inter-provincial harmony. Following are the main daunting challenges, having potential to jeopardize the security of the state.

Firstly, the per-capita availability of surface water has decreased— from water-abundant country with 5,260 cubic metres per year in 1951 to around 1000 cubic metres in 2016—with rapidly growing population, heading towards a situation of water shortage. This quantity is likely to further decline to around 860 cubic metres by 2025, making the country's transition from water-stressed to water-scarce.

The severity of the emerging water crisis has been red-flagged. It can be realized by a letter, dated 25th February 2015, which the then-chairman of Indus River System Authority (IRSA) wrote to the federal government, asking for the freeze of country's entire development budget for the next five years,

and to divert it towards the construction of major water reservoirs on a war footing, since agriculture is the backbone of the country. The total availability of water in the country is 145 MAF, average flow in the Indus River annually, and provides water for 77% of the population, while the existing live storage capacity is 14.10MAF, i.e. 9.7% only. However, according to a Dutch study, about 60% of Indus waters are contributed by Himalayan melts, and there is a possibility of an 8.4% decrease in upstream water flows in the Indus as a result of climate change by 2050. Needless to say, declining water availability is one of the severest security challenges, just like terrorism and extremism that confront Pakistan. It could translate into political instability and security risk.

Secondly, being an agrarian economy, with about 60% of the country's total population in rural areas linked to agricultural activities directly or indirectly, the implications are even grimmer. Despite the declining share in GDP to 20%, it still remains the backbone of the country's economy. In addition, it absorbs 43.7% of the country's labour force. This sector also provides more than 70% of the raw material for manufactured exports. The IMF has already warned that since agriculture depends on water, any shortage of it could lead to food insecurity, raised productions costs and contracted productivity growth.

Thirdly, a combination of sea intrusion and erosion has inundated several Indus delta islands; mainly, in Badin, Thatta and Sajwal districts of Sindh, in the last few decades.

It has also compelled local communities to migrate to nearby districts or Karachi, the economic hub of the country. As many as 80% of the five million people, which once lived along the banks of the Indus Delta earning their livelihoods through farming and fishing, have migrated. Moreover, due to rising sea levels, worsening of ecosystem at Delta and decreasing river flow into the Arabian Sea, have miserably affected the aquatic creatures and mangroves. Notably, mangroves act as first line of defence against cyclones and tsunamis. However, its forest area has been decreased from 400,000 hectares in 1945 to 70,000 in 2016.

Fourthly and finally, climate change has exposed the country's population to fierce health-related challenges. Unfortunately, Covid-19 pandemic has proved fatal to developing countries economically because they do not have enough fiscal space to bear the burden of long-term lockdowns. Although there is no evidence suggesting that

the pandemic was caused by global warming, yet it would be too early to rule out the possibility that it was not ignited by climate change.

Recurrent erupting of such pandemics could destabilize the country which is already grappling with various challenges.

It is worth mentioning here that scientific community has listed several broad areas in which climate change will affect health: temperature-related deaths and illness, air quality, vector-borne and viral diseases, water-related illnesses and food safety and nutrition. Various WHO studies have already predicted climate-induced epidemics and pandemics.

It is truth that Pakistan is suffering from "climate injustice. While the developed countries

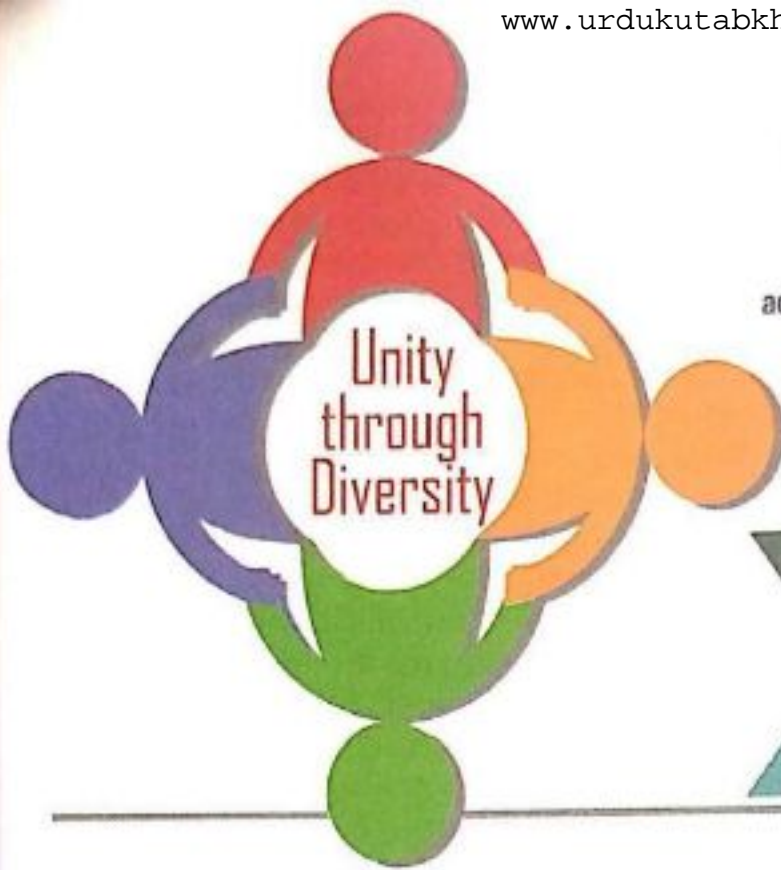
have huge contributions to damaging the climate, the developing ones are major sufferers. Nevertheless, taking into account the intensity of the challenge and gravity of the matter, unusual decisions have to be taken without delay. Pakistan's Water Policy was adopted in 2018 after much consideration. As usual, a bigger question still remains on its implementation and execution, especially with respect to provincial coordination.

So far, there are no indications that temperature increase will be contained between 1°C and 2°C. Commitments made under Paris Climate Accord of 2015 are not legally binding. Therefore, the accord could not be relied as an international tool for assuring compliance.

It manifests that each country will have to use available local resources, capacities and technologies to build adaptive resilience in order to deal the climate crisis. It's a decisive time for Pakistan's public managers and policymakers to take unusual and timely decisions. ■







In the annals of human history, numerous political philosophers have tried to bring a nation on one page in one way or another. In this connection, Plato and Aristotle are the most prominent philosophers. According to Plato, a nation can be united by adopting assimilation policy; meaning thereby that all the parochial cultures assimilate into prominent culture which creates one culture—as it happened in US through Americanization. Thus, in Plato's point of view, unity can be achieved through uniformity.

## THE 18th AMENDMENT

Bashir Sagar



Plato's disciple Aristotle, however, introduced a different concept that was quite contradictory to Plato's assimilation policy. In Aristotle's views, without the elimination of parochial cultures, a nation can be united

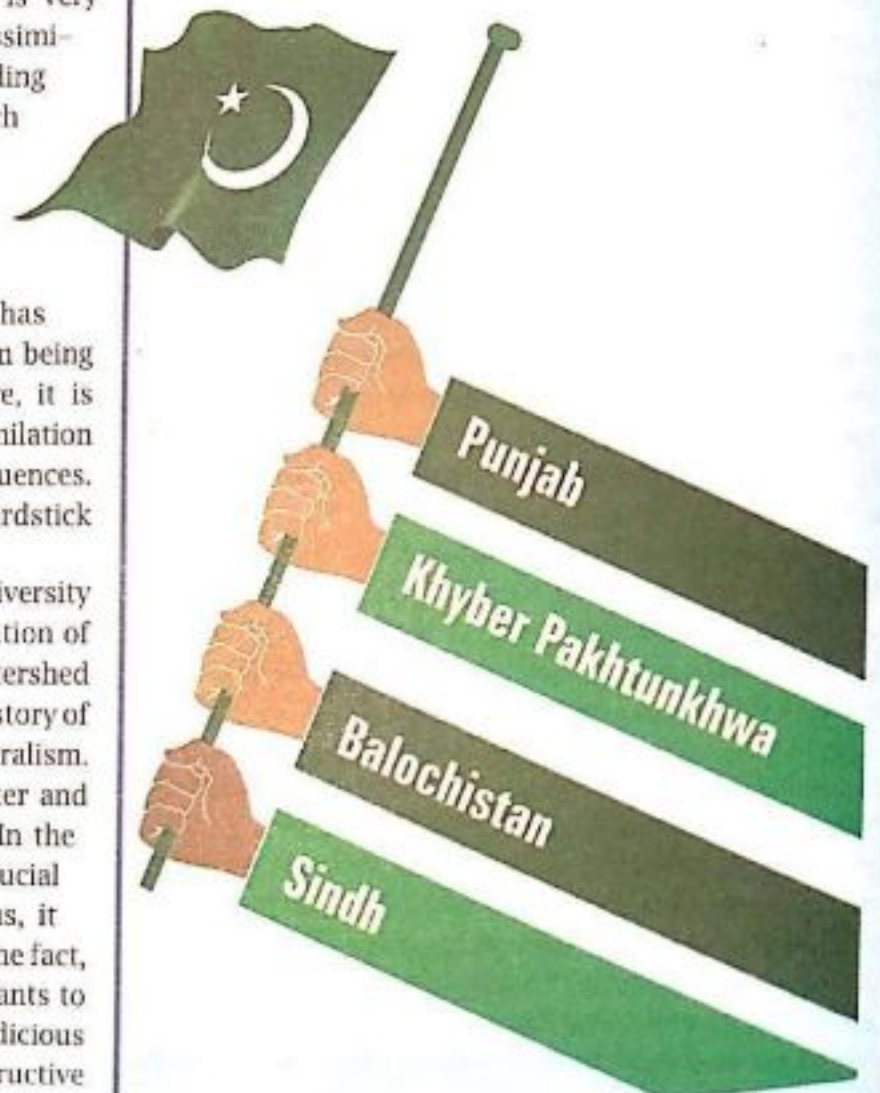
by adopting unity through diversity. Since it is very difficult for a multiethnic society to adopt the assimilation policy, Aristotle shows the way of providing equal political representations to unify such groups. In this context, he refers to federalism in which equal representation should be given to federating units.

In Pakistan's context, unity through diversity seems quite relevant as Pakistan has multiple ethnic groups, most prominent of them being Punjabi, Baloch, Pashtun and Sindh. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to unite them through an assimilation policy for it will lead to more deleterious consequences. Hence, unity through diversity is the pertinent yardstick to comprehend the current situation.

Pakistan has been experiencing unity through diversity in the shape of 18th amendment to the constitution of Pakistan. This amendment was, no doubt, a watershed development in the political and constitutional history of Pakistan which resuscitated the spirit of federalism. However, whether it is implemented in true letter and spirit or not, is an altogether different debate. In the 18th amendment, NFC award plays the most crucial role in terms of distribution of resources. Thus, it makes federalism more hale and hearty. Despite the fact, there is a burning debate that the government wants to roll back this amendment which would not be a judicious decision because such acts often lead to destructive

results. God forbid, it may lead to disintegration of the state. Therefore, there is a pressing need to chew over such decision before taking any step. ■

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## The 2020 SDG Index and the Muslim World

Since 2015, all member states of the United Nations have been implementing "Agenda 2030" and working on achieving the agreed-upon Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Subsequently, to assess where each country stands with regard to achieving the SDGs, Jeffrey Sachs and a team of independent experts working at the Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) alongside the Bertelsmann Stiftung Institute have been preparing a Sustainable Development Report (SDR). The 2020 SDG Index includes 166 UN member countries. Out of the 57 countries included in the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), 55 are included in the report. This short article offers a glance at the performances of OIC countries.

Faysal Khan

**F**or the sake of discussion, let's divide the 166 countries into three groups: Group A, representing the top 50 countries, Group C, representing the bottom 50 countries, and the other 66 countries, ranking from 51th to 116th, as Group B. The five top performing OIC member countries include Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, Algeria and Iran. It is also important to mention Bosnia-Herzegovina is the

only OIC member country in Group A, ranked 50th with a score of 73.38. In contrast, of the countries in Group C, 25 or 50%, are OIC members. Of them, 20 countries, or 80%, are in Africa. The countries are ordered in accordance with their performances in the SDG Index: Senegal—ranked 127th with a score of 58.27, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Mauritania, Cameroon, Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Mozambique, Uganda, Benin, Comoros, Togo, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Mali, Niger, Sudan, Nigeria, Somalia and Chad, which ranked 164th with a score of 43.75.

Of the rest, the remaining five OIC countries include two from South Asia—namely, Pakistan (134th) and Afghanistan (139th)—two from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region—namely, Yemen (151st) and Syria (126th)—while the remaining one, Guyana (124th), is located in the Latin American and the Caribbean (LAC) region.

In Group B, 29, or nearly 44%, are OIC member countries. These countries are from six diverse regions. Turkey, the only Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) country in the Muslim world, has a score of 70.30 and is ranked 70th and 12th among the global and OIC levels, respectively.

Suriname is the only country from the LAC region with a score of 68.36, ranked 86th, while Gabon is the only African country in Group B with a score of 63.40, ranking 111th. The two South Asian countries are Bangladesh (109th) and the Maldives (91st), while the three Southeast Asian countries are Malaysia (60th), Brunei (88th) and Indonesia (101st). The seven Eastern Europe and Central Asian countries included are Kyrgyzstan, ranked 52nd with a score of 73.01, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Albania, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, which is ranked 114th with a score of 63.03. Among them, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan are also among the five top performing OIC countries.

The 14 MENA countries include Algeria, ranked 56th with a score of 72.27, Iran, Tunisia, Morocco, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Bahrain, Egypt,

Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait and Iraq with a score of 63.13. Among them, Algeria and Iran are also among the five top performing OIC countries.

In summary, we observe that the performance of the majority of OIC member countries is relatively poorer than non-OIC countries. Among the 1.85 billion people the OIC represents, around 968 million, or 53%, live in only five countries, namely, Indonesia, Pakistan, Nigeria, Bangladesh and Egypt. These countries are also home to large poor populations. The OIC as the collective voice of the Muslim world should respond to this through its various organs, committees and institutions—including the Islamic Center for the Development of Trade (ICDT), the Standing Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation (COMCEC) and the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) to enhance cooperation among OIC members so that the performance of OIC countries can be collectively improved.

### How Pakistan Performed?

Though among countries most vulnerable to global warming, Pakistan has passed a crucial milestone on the road to environmental protection by meeting the overarching United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 13, which calls for urgent actions to combat climate change and its impacts, 10 years ahead of the deadline.

It is indeed a landmark achievement that will also help in pursuing the other goals, including poverty- and hunger-elimination, provision of quality healthcare, education, clean water and sanitation services to people, gender equality and justice, and peace. Adoption and implementation of different low carbon growth trajectory, mitigation and adaptation initiatives paved the way for the country to achieve the UN's Climate Action Goal 13 and that, too, 10 years before the deadline. Some of the key green projects are: 10 Billion Tree Tsunami Program, Clean Green Pakistan Initiative, Clean Green Pakistan Index, Protected Areas Initiative (15 new national parks), Ecosystem Restoration Fund for facilitating green growth and policies consistent with the objectives of Pakistan's Nationally Determined Contribution and attaining Land Degradation Neutrality. These initiatives have been taken to prevent and to be better prepared for the threat of climate change experienced by the country such as floods, heat waves, droughts and melting glaciers. ■



China is increasing its presence in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) over the past few years through its String of Pearls strategy. The strategy is driven by China's need to secure foreign oil and trade routes critical to its development. This has meant establishing an increased level of influence along sea routes through investment, port development and diplomacy. According to a study by the Congressional Research Office in 2011, China might develop, or eventually might choose to construct, a network of Chinese military and commercial assets in the Indian Ocean to support Chinese naval operations along the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) which extend from the Chinese mainland to Port Sudan. Ultimately, those 'bases' would be used to house Chinese military assets, critics say. However, the Chinese Communist Party insists that China's naval strategy is completely peaceful and is only intended to protect regional commercial interests.



## ***A Primer on China's String of Pearls Strategy***

***How Pakistan is important to counter the Indian threat***

Muhammad Sheraz

**S**tring of Pearls theory refers to a maritime trade route for China that originates from the East China Sea, enters the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) and provides further navigational trade feasibility to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. This maritime trade route engrosses strategically prevalent ports and chokepoints, also known as Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs). Although this notion was fabricated by Western scholars, it was never refuted by the Chinese government. The term was first used in 'Energy Futures in Asia' by US consultancy consortium Booz Allen Hamilton in 2004.

### **Why this strategy?**

For the continuation of its commercial activities, trade navigation is indispensable to China's rise through connecting feasibility from the South China Sea to the Mediterranean Sea. But, two historical events in the last century created a sense of insecurity among Chinese strategists and made them look out for an interminable alternative route that could assure a smooth transportation of Chinese goods. The blocking of commercial activities by India in 1971 (Indo-Pak War) and 1999 (Kargil War) made Chinese policymakers learn lessons and counter the proximity of India in the region that envisaged vicissitudes in the whole panorama. Their pursuit resulted in two developments; first, it led to a renewal of the String of Pearls and second initiation of a hunt to find a short and safe passage to continue its supply of commercial goods in the international market and the import of energy resources. Additionally, constant US-India military exercises exacerbated the situation. The trap of Indian naval bases and bilateral cantonments across the SLOCs in Andaman and Nicobar Islands at the neck of Malacca Strait accelerated the process to discover alternative routes that indirectly effected 'modification' when China started establishing Gwadar port and Kyaupkyu port to bypass Malacca.

### **What are the Pearls?**

In the String of Pearls, 'pearls' are basically the strategic points, straits or ports that have a tremendous geostrategic location in the IOR. They include the Strait of Malacca





(which links the South China Sea to the Bay of Bengal), Strait of Hormuz (which connects the Arabian Sea to Persian Gulf), and Strait of Mandeb (which provides a pathway to the Red Sea and further from Suez Canal to the Mediterranean Sea. Every freighter that travels from Europe to East Asia and Southeast Asia has to pass through these littorals. The three passages have enormous commercial significance, especially for China to funnel its finished goods to the Middle East, Africa, West Asia and Europe—the main consumer markets—and, in return, China imports gas and oil from the Middle East to quench its industry's thirst. Chinese freighters have to cross the straits in both cases of imports and exports. Talking about commercial benefits for China, geo-strategists named the SLOCs 'String of Pearls' and China never disapproved of it.

#### **Countering String of Pearls: India's Necklace of Diamonds Strategy**

According to the Indian intelligentsia, Chinese String of

Duqm in Oman, Assumption Island in Seychelles, Chabahar in Iran (Iran has recently kicked India out of a key railway line project of Chabahar Port plan) and Changi in Singapore to counter encirclement of String of Pearls. Apart from getting direct access to the strategically placed naval bases, India is also developing new naval bases, developing the old ones and is enhancing relations with other nations to garland China. Currently, it is in the process of building new air corridors and bases in Mongolia, Japan, Vietnam and in Central Asia. It also seeks a dispersed network of naval bases in IOR while making agreements, and has succeeded in establishing those in Mozambique, Mauritius and Madagascar. India has already old naval bases, Andaman Island, and the Nicobar Islands. At the same time, India has also signed an agreement with the Maldives and built a radar system for surveillance and monitoring. India also proposed some infrastructural and energy projects to enhance ties with Bangladesh, Myanmar and Vietnam. It is



Pearls is supposed to encircle India strategically. They claim that Beijing has been reaching out to India's neighbours on the premise of development and trade, allegedly recreating the Silk Route. From Nepal in the Southeast to Myanmar, Bangladesh to Sri Lanka in the South and Pakistan in the West, China plans to choke India. Moreover, China is surrounding India through the initiation of mega infrastructural development, energy projects, financial grants and construction of corridors in South Asia, establishing ports across the SLOCs in its neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Maldives, and especially in Pakistan.

In a counter-action, India has started working on the 'Necklace of Diamonds' strategy. This strategy aims at garlanding China, or in simple words, the counter encirclement strategy. India is expanding its naval bases and is also improving relations with strategically placed countries to counter China's strategies. India has started building naval capacities at ports of Sabang in Indonesia,

crystal clear that such strategic initiatives of India are to counter Chinese String of Pearls.

#### **New Maritime Silk Road: The Renewed String of Pearls**

The philosophical triad propounded by German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's 'Dialect Method' seems applicable in this India-China tussle also. It is an interpretive method in which the contradiction between a proposition (thesis) and its antithesis is resolved at a higher level of truth (synthesis). As, according to this notion, a thesis has antithesis, an antithesis triggers synthesis, similarly 'String of Pearls' and its counter, led by Indo-US alliance, through policy of 'Countering String of Pearls' gave birth to a new and modified String of Pearls. However, the questions that arise here are: what is the route of this renewed String of Pearls and how is it more comprehensive and secure for China? How is it different from an existing string of pearls? And what are the main littorals of the new String of Pearls?

Let's find out the answers:



1. Basically, the reinvigoration of Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI) has revised the route of the present String of Pearls, and drawn a new route with modification bringing some vicissitudes in IOR. The construction of two new ports under MSRI, Gwadar and Kyaupkyu, has changed the course especially Kyaupkyu which is going to bypass Strait of Malacca, the critical point between India and China. As mentioned earlier, India has naval bases in Andaman and Nicobar Islands adjacent to Strait of Malacca that can create a challenging situation for China. With the operationalization of renewed route, China will be able to overcome the precariousness of trade navigation. In the renewed Chinese String of Pearls, Kyaupkyu and Gwadar are the most strategically located pearls. It has both head



and tail in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea and connected to China through land corridors. Gwadar is connected to Kashgar (Xingjian province) through CPEC whereas Kyaupkyu is also linked through a road around 2400 km to Kunming (Yunan province of China) passing through Mandalay called China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC).

2. China is also purchasing approximately 11.76 billion cubic feet gas annually from Myanmar that is passed through Thailand and then supplied to other parts of China. It invested more than \$7.2 billion to build Kyaupkyu Port and has 70-85% of the port's stakes. China invested \$2.7 billion to construct an industrial zone in Kyaupkyu and \$1.5 billion to lay down oil pipeline from Kyaupkyu to Kunming. China's strategic interest in Kyaupkyu and the construction of oil and gas

pipeline is evident that it intends to bypass Malacca and reduce not only its dependence on it but also avoid adversaries like India and USA. Hence, Kyaupkyu is an important geostrategic pearl of 'Renewed String of Pearl'.

3. Another pivotal littoral of 'Renewed String of Pearls' is Gwadar port in Pakistan. China is investing approximately \$62 billion under the umbrella of CPEC to construct Gwadar deep sea port to get access to the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. Several proposed mega projects are underway in Gwadar such as Special Economic Zones, international airport, housing societies, energy projects and carriage terminals.

China has then approached Strait of Hormuz through Gwadar directly. Gwadar would be a hub of economic activities and would help to monitor and control shipments. The port has been given to China for 40 years, initially. It can also serve as a naval base for China because Pakistan and India are strategic rivals, so Pakistan can serve China's interests to counter India in the Arabian Sea. Other littorals of 'Renewed String of Pearls' are Chittagong (Bangladesh), Hambantota (Sri Lanka), Marao (Maldives) and Lamu (Kenya) ports respectively.

Sri Lankan government officially

### STRING OF PEARLS: CHINESE GEOPOLITICAL PLAY MILITARY OR COMMERCIAL?

String of Pearls is a geopolitical theory around China's intentions in the Indian Ocean. It refers to China's growing network of commercial & military establishments in the Indian Ocean: stretching from Africa & the Middle East in the west to mainland China in the east; uncomfortably close to India and through the ASEAN

China has always maintained that all commercial & military establishments are being developed only with commercial interests of securing the oil shipping lanes to meet its oil & energy needs

(1) Sudan, (2) Pakistan, (3) Sri Lanka, (4) Bangladesh, (5) Myanmar, (6) Thailand, (7) Cambodia, (8) Spratly Islands



#### China's commercial advances in the Indian Ocean

- 1 Sudan  
Development of Sudan Port, \$ 10 billion Investment
- 2 Pakistan  
Gwadar Port, \$ 1 billion Investment
- 3 Sri Lanka  
Colombo Port, Hambantota Port, 85% Stake
- 4 Bangladesh  
Chittagong Port, \$ 8 billion Investment
- 5 Myanmar  
Kyaupkyu Port, & Sino-Burmese Oil pipeline
- 6 Thailand  
Laem Chabang Port
- 7 Cambodia  
Sihanoukville Port & SEZ, \$ 3 billion Investment

#### China's military advances in the Indian Ocean

- Pakistan  
Sino-Pakistan military deal to sell Chinese submarines to Pakistan
- Bangladesh  
Sri Lankan Ports were recently used for refueling Chinese submarines India very vocal in protest of this
- Myanmar  
Unconfirmed reports of a Chinese naval base in Coco Islands, Myanmar have been around since the 90s
- Spratly Islands  
China recently constructed an airstrip on the disputed Spratly Islands

Only time will tell what the real intention of building the String of Pearls is. But there is no doubt that China has established a strong network safeguarding its strategic interests, simultaneously providing it commercial and energy security



handed over Hambantota port to China for 99 years in 2017 after ratifying a bilateral lease agreement. Similarly, China is also investing in infrastructure and energy sector in the Maldives. It goes without saying that Maldives' insolvency of 70 percent of debts made it more dependent on China. In fact, China is more interested to build Mario port and link it with Male, the Maldivian capital. In the Bay of Bengal, acquisition of Chittagong and especially Sonadia is another strategic achievement for China. Similarly, China intends to expand the China-Myanmar Corridor (CMC) to Bangladesh, and Bangladesh predisposed positive gesture for investment in infrastructure and deep sea port projects of \$9 billion. Moreover, China has proposed other infrastructural energy projects to persuade Bangladesh by her side. The last pearl is Lamu port of Kenya. Again, the Dragon has stretched up to Africa to finance and build port along with initiation of huge projects. The establishment of this port is the crust of Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) which is being commissioned by China Communication Construction Company. Initially, work was started in 2016 and is expected to be completed by the end of the ongoing year. Port will have 32 total berths while the first berth was completed in 2018. China spent \$480 million to construct the Lamu Port which can be another Gwadar for her in Africa.

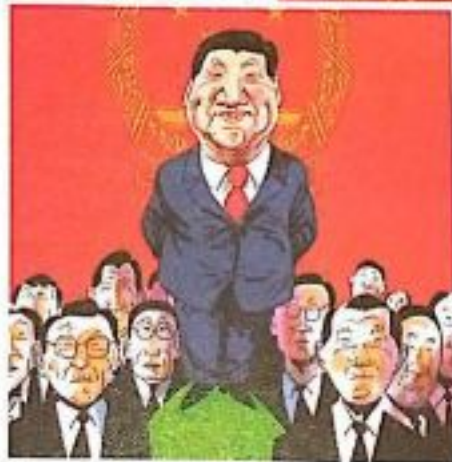
#### **Gwadar: Materializing the renewed 'String Of Pearls'**

The materializing of this 'Renewed String of Pearls' is actually the result of the revitalization of Maritime Silk Road Institution (MSRI) by China. It has been investing billions of dollars under this flagship project that will connect Asia with Africa, Europe, and within Asia Middle East, West Asia, Central Asia and South Asia. As a matter of fact, Asian ascendancy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century can truly be cashed in on by China through the initiation of mega projects and exertion of soft power across the continents. The establishment of Gwadar, Kyaupkyu and Lamu through CPEC, CMC, and LAPSSET has paved the way for new navigational route in the IOR for China. Renewed Chinese String of Pearls is more useful, comprehensive and secure as compared to Allen's perceived String of Pearls because every pearl of this renewed string is more precious for China; politically, economically and strategically.

China has picked the pearls and sewed it into 'Renewed String of Pearls' to bypass Malacca, baffle Indo-US military presence in Andaman and Nicobar Islands and guarded maritime route for navigation of goods across the mainland.

Gwadar port is the most precious pearl of this new string because of two reasons: first, it will enable China to counter India and gain an upper hand which previously India had; and second, it will become a hub of trans-regional connectivity. The presence of Pak-China navies in the Arabian Sea will create balance of power in the Indian Ocean that will help counter Indian aggressive moves as historically were undertaken by India when it threatened to block China's trade navigation during wars in 1971 and 1999.

In new situation, if India threatens China to impose blockade in the Indian Ocean, the latter can tackle it in the Arabian Sea and Strait of Hormuz because Chinese have naval presence at Gwadar port. So, power equilibrium can be achieved in the IOR only with the establishment of Gwadar port. Third, Gwadar can be considered a monitoring or controlling point because of its strategic



location. It will not only help China to import energy from the Middle East and further supply it to its mainland, but also in keeping its presence at a geostrategic region close to Strait of Hormuz, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Sea. Similarly, China can export its finished goods through Gwadar to the Middle East, Europe, Africa and West Asia, bypassing Strait of Malacca.

#### **Conclusion**

China has become an economic giant through peaceful means and it never indulged directly in international political conflicts. Nevertheless, with alternative routes and renewed String of Pearls, China will become a stakeholder in the IOR which will be to its great political advantage, yet most likely, it will not challenge American supremacy in the region so as to provide a win-win situation for all stakeholders. Indeed, renewed 'String of Pearls' has economic benefits for China and other associated countries but at same time, it would also place China at a political and strategic advantageous position in IOR. So in a few years from now, IOR would experience a new balance of power. ■

*The writer is a member of staff.*



## 10 things to know about

# HONG KONG National Security Law

On June 30, China's sweeping new national security law for Hong Kong took effect in the global financial hub. It is expected to mark the biggest change in the freewheeling former British colony since it returned to Chinese rule in 1997. Early assessments of the law, whose content was kept secret until it took effect, suggest that some elements are stronger than many feared, both in scope and penalties. The crimes of secession, subversion of state power, terrorism and colluding with foreign countries and external elements will face penalties of up to life in prison. Here are ten main points of the law:

Zafrullah Saroya

### 1. Broad offences

The law creates four offences, namely secession, subversion, terrorism and collusion with foreign forces to endanger national security. Each offence is widely-defined.

**a. Secession** is defined in Article 20 as "to participate, plan or implement ... acts of secession ... whether or not force or the threat of force is used."

Acts of secession refer to the secession of Hong Kong or any other part of China from the People's Republic, unlawfully changing the status of Hong Kong or any other part of China, or turning over Hong Kong or any other part of China to foreign rule.

**b. Subversion** is defined in Article 22 as "to participate, plan or implement ... acts of subversion of the state, whether by force or other unlawful means." Acts of subversion refer to overthrowing or damaging either the "fundamental system" of the PRC or the state organs of China or Hong Kong. These acts also refer to "serious interference, obstruction or damage" to the lawful exercise of powers by the state organs of China or Hong Kong, or attacking or damaging the venues and facilities by which Hong Kong's organs exercise their functions.

**c. Terrorism** is defined in Article 24 as "to participate, plan, implement or participate in implementing acts that cause or intend to cause serious societal harm—with the aim of threatening the Chinese or Hong Kong governments, an international organisation or the public." The acts in question include: Serious personal violence; using explosives, arson or poison, radioactive materials or diseases; destroying transportation and power facilities (among others); serious interference or destruction to infrastructure; or serious harm to public health and safety using other dangerous means.

**d. Collusion with foreign forces** is initially defined in

Article 29 as "to steal, spy, bribe or unlawfully provide state secrets or intelligence related to national security on behalf of foreign institutions, organisations or agents."

A second definition of collusion is to request foreign institutions, organisations or agents to implement, conspire or support a number of acts: Threatening war or force against China; enacting laws and policies that cause serious obstruction or serious consequences to Hong Kong or China; manipulating or damaging elections; sanctions, blockades or other hostile activities; and using unlawful means to cause hatred among Hong Kongers towards the Hong Kong or Chinese government.

### 2. Minimum sentences

For the four offences, "serious" cases will generally attract penalties of at least 10 years and up to life imprisonment. Regular cases will attract penalties of a minimum of three years behind bars and a maximum of 10 years. Pursuant to Articles 31 and 35, convicted legislators, district councillors, civil servants, judges and other officials can be disqualified from their posts. Monetary penalties and license-revocation are also stipulated in relation to convicted companies or organisations. There is discretion to reduce sentences for offenders who voluntarily cease or prevent offences, surrender to authorities, or reveal offences committed by others, pursuant to Article 33.

### 3. Overriding Hong Kong law

Article 62 provides that the security law overrides local Hong Kong law if there are inconsistencies. One major inconsistency is Article 42, which states that bail shall not be granted to suspects, "unless the judge has convincing reasons to believe he/she will not continue acts that endanger national security."

The power to interpret the national security law lies with the Standing Committee of the National People's Con-



## New surveillance powers for Hong Kong

New provisions disclosed July 6 remove some of the judicial oversight that previously governed surveillance powers



HK CE Carrie Lam given broad oversight over covert surveillance powers, including communication interception

Police can conduct a search without a warrant if they deem a threat to national security is "urgent"

Police can order internet firms and service providers to remove online content if they reasonably suspect national security breaches

Companies expected to provide ID records and decryption assistance

International political organisations can be asked to supply information on their activities in Hong Kong, with fines of \$13,000 and up to two years' jail time for non-compliance

gress, according to Article 65. In contrast to Article 158 of the Basic Law, there is no clause authorising local courts to interpret the national security law.

### 4. Secrecy and closed trials?

In general, Article 63 requires law-enforcement, judges and other personnel must not disclose "state secrets". Trials may be closed to the public for reasons such as maintaining state secrets and public order, pursuant to Article 41. While jury trials are permitted, Article 46 allows the Secretary for Justice to convene a panel of three judges for trial instead on grounds related to state secrets or external/diplomatic factors. However, whether or not a trial involves state secrets is decided by the Chief Executive, not the court, pursuant to Article 47.

### 5. Chinese organs and agents

Article 48 mandates that the Chinese government will establish a National Security Office (NSO) in Hong Kong, whose duties notably include the collection and analysis of national security intelligence and the "processing" of national security cases. According to Articles 60 and 61, agents of the NSO are not bound by Hong Kong's legal jurisdiction while they are performing their duties. In fact, departments of the Hong Kong government are required to cooperate and prevent any obstruction of their work.

### 6. Jurisdiction, extradition and extraterritoriality

There is no literal reference to extradition to

China in the national security law. Hong Kong is given the power to prosecute offences in its own courts as per Article 40. However, Article 55 stipulates three exceptions: Where Hong Kong has "realistic difficulties" due to the involvement of foreign forces, where it has no effective means to enforce the law due to the seriousness of the situation, and where China is faced with grave realistic threats. Under these three exceptions, China's Supreme People's Procuratorate can name "relevant procuratorates" to conduct prosecutions, while the Supreme People's Court can name "relevant courts" for trial.

### 7. New police powers

Under Article 16, a new National Security Department will be created within the Hong Kong Police Force, which must keep its operations secret. In addition to existing police powers, Article 43 grants national security police officers a range of broad powers, including search powers, restricting overseas travel, freezing and confiscation of property, requiring services-providers to delete information and provide assistance, requiring foreign political organisations to provide information, secret surveillance and interception of telecommunications, and requiring people implicated in cases to answer questions or provide information.

### 8. Hand-picked judges

Article 44 empowers the Chief Executive to pick judges and magistrates from all levels of Hong Kong's courts to deal with national security cases for a term of one year. The views of the Chief Justice may be considered. However, judges who have "made statements or engaged in behaviour endangering national security" may not be picked.

### 9. Other new organs

A new National Security Commission will be set up and chaired by the Chief Executive, while an advisor from the Chinese government will be delegated to it. Its budget will not be subject to Legislative Council supervision. Furthermore, in keeping with Article 14, the Commission's decisions cannot be challenged by judicial review. The Department of Justice will also set up a division to handle national security cases, which must keep its operations secret. The Chief Executive is required to submit annual reports on national security to the Chinese government.

### 10. National security education

According to Articles 9 and 10, the Hong Kong government is required to promote national security education through schools, social groups, the media and the internet.■

*The writer is an advocate High Court.*







# Anatomy of the Earth

Earth's surface is an amazing place to behold. Yet even the deepest canyon is but a tiny scratch on the planet. To really understand Earth, you need to travel 6,400 kilometres (3,977 miles) beneath our feet. Starting at the centre, Earth is composed of four distinct layers. They are, from deepest to shallowest, the inner core, the outer core, the mantle and the crust. Except for the crust, no one has ever explored these layers in person. In fact, the deepest humans have ever drilled is just over 12 kilometres (7.6 miles).

Here's a primer on Earth's layers, starting with a journey to the centre of the planet.

Magazine Desk

## 1. The inner core

This solid metal ball has a radius of 1,220 kilometres (758 miles), or about three-quarters that of the moon. It is located some 6,400 to 5,180 kilometres (4,000 to 3,220 miles) beneath Earth's surface. Extremely dense, it is made mostly of iron and nickel. The inner core spins a bit faster than the rest of the planet. It is also intensely hot: Temperatures sizzle at 5,400° Celsius (9,800° Fahrenheit). That is almost as hot as the surface of the sun.

Pressures here are immense: well over 3 million times greater than on Earth's surface. Some research suggests there may also be an inner, inner core. It would likely consist almost entirely of iron.

## 2. The outer core

This part of the core is also made from iron and nickel, just in liquid form. It sits some 5,180 to 2,880 kilometres (3,220 to 1,790 miles) below the surface. Heated largely by the radioactive decay of the elements uranium and thorium, this liquid churns in huge, turbulent currents. That motion generates electrical currents. They, in turn, generate Earth's magnetic field. For reasons somehow related to the outer core, Earth's magnetic field reverses about every 200,000 to 300,000 years.

## 3. The mantle

At close to 3,000 kilometres (1,865 miles) thick, this is Earth's thickest layer. It starts a mere 30 kilometres (18.6 miles) beneath the surface. Made mostly of iron, magnesium and silicon, it is dense, hot and semi-solid. Like the layer below it, this one also circulates. It just does so far more slowly.


Near its upper edges, somewhere between about 100 and 200 kilometres (62 to 124 miles) underground, the mantle's temperature reaches the melting point of rock. Indeed, it forms a layer of partially melted rock known as the asthenosphere.

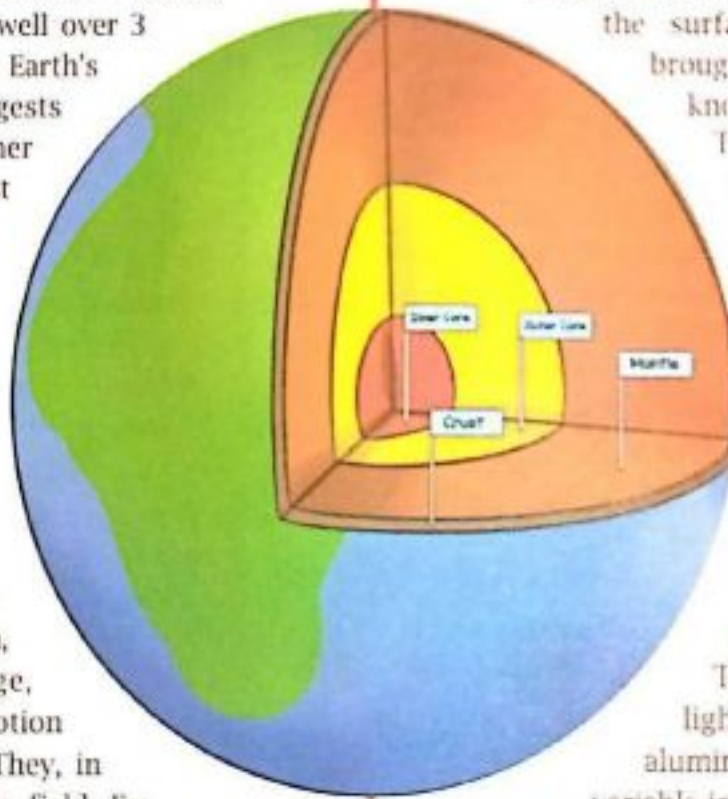
Diamonds are tiny pieces of the mantle we can actually touch. Most form at depths above 200 kilometres (124 miles). But rare "super-deep" diamonds may have formed as far down as 700 kilometres (435 miles) below the surface. These crystals are then brought to the surface in volcanic rock known as kimberlite.

The mantle's outermost zone is relatively cool and rigid. It behaves more like the crust above it. Together, this uppermost part of the mantle layer and the crust are known as the lithosphere.

## 4. The crust

Earth's crust is like the shell of a hard-boiled egg. It is extremely thin, cold and brittle compared to what lies below it.

The crust is made of relatively light elements, especially silica, aluminium and oxygen. It is also highly variable in its thickness. Under the oceans (and Hawaiian Islands), it may be as little as 5 kilometres (3.1 miles) thick. Beneath the continents, the crust may be 30 to 70 kilometres (18.6 to 43.5 miles) thick. Along with the upper zone of the mantle, the crust is broken into big pieces, like a gigantic jigsaw puzzle. These are known as tectonic plates. These move slowly—at just 3 to 5 centimetres (1.2 to 2 inches) per year. What drives the motion of tectonic plates is still not fully understood. 





# How much time does a user spend on

## SOCIAL MEDIA

+92-310-545-450-3

Muhammad Atif Sheikh

**S**ince there has been no consolidated on the use of social media in Pakistan, therefore, we have to rely on data made available from different sources to find out the duration as correctly as possible.

» According to a report titled as "Digital 2020: Global Digital Overview," the state of

affairs regarding use of six major social media (SM) platforms was: Facebook 15 minutes (hereinafter min) 02 seconds (hereinafter sec); WhatsApp 2 min 47 sec; YouTube 29 min 59 sec; Twitter 13 min 36 sec; Instagram 10 min 44 sec; and Wikipedia 4 min 34 sec. In total, a user spent 76 min 42 sec per visit on these websites. If we use this collective time of 76 min 42 sec per day as a criterion, we find that an average Pakistani user spent a day and a half per month, or in other words 19 days a year consecutively, on SM.

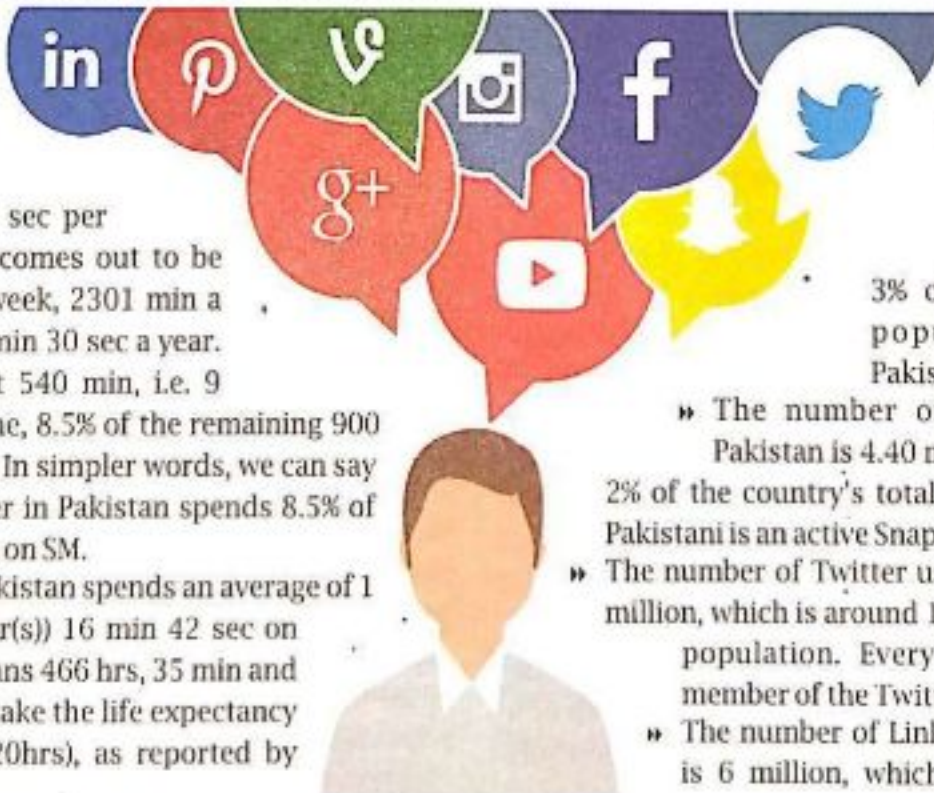
- » On average, a Pakistani user spends 76 min 42 sec per day on SM, which comes out to be 536 min 54 sec a week, 2301 min a month and 27995 min 30 sec a year. And if we subtract 540 min, i.e. 9 hours, for sleep time, 8.5% of the remaining 900 min is spent on SM. In simpler words, we can say that an average user in Pakistan spends 8.5% of his daily active time on SM.
- » An SM user from Pakistan spends an average of 1 hour (hereinafter hr(s)) 16 min 42 sec on using SM which means 466 hrs, 35 min and 30 sec a year. If we take the life expectancy of 67 years (586920hrs), as reported by

World Bank, a Pakistani spends 31261 hrs, 38 min and 30 sec on SM. Since there are 24 hrs in a day, or 8760 hrs in a year, a Pakistani users spends around three and a half years of his life using SM.

- » If we consider ages between 13 and 60 years as the active period of life, we find that a Pakistani SM user spends 22396 hrs 24 min of 420480 hrs of his active life on SM platforms.
- » If we subtract 157680 hrs of sleep from 420480 hrs of active life of people aged between 13 and 60 years, we find that a Pakistani SM user spends 22396 hrs 24 min of the remaining 262800 hrs of his active life on SM platforms.

### The number of SM users in Pakistan (as of Jan. 2020)

- » The number of Facebook users in Pakistan is 33 million, which is around 15% of the country's total population. Every 7<sup>th</sup> Pakistani is an active FB user.
- » The number of Instagram users in Pakistan is 6.40 million, or around 3% of the country's total population. Every 35<sup>th</sup> Pakistani is active Insta user.
- » The number of Snapchat users in Pakistan is 4.40 million, which is around 2% of the country's total population. Every 50<sup>th</sup> Pakistani is an active Snapchat user.
- » The number of Twitter users in Pakistan is 1.83 million, which is around 1% of the country's total population. Every 120<sup>th</sup> Pakistani is a member of the Twitterati.
- » The number of LinkedIn users in Pakistan is 6 million, which is around 3% of the





country's total population. Every 37<sup>th</sup> Pakistani uses LinkedIn.

- » Pakistan is the 13<sup>th</sup> biggest country in terms of users of Facebook.
- » Pakistan is the 13 largest country in terms of highest relative growth of Facebook users.
- » Pakistan is on 20<sup>th</sup> position among countries with most Snapchat users.

### What do social media users say?

#### 1. Syed Muhammad Zaki, Quetta

Social media is a wonderful addition to information technology in the modern-day world. The one who has a smartphone is a player in this domain. It's like a deluge of information that is sweeping everyone away. However, it is a reality that if SM has some positive aspects, there are some negative ones too. The concept of freedom with responsibility that was the soul of the profession of journalism has become totally irrelevant to SM. Hence, it has become a double-edged sword as a rash or an irresponsible use of it can prove fatal to the society. It is

within the limits. And, this breakneck speed often has catastrophic consequences. If used positively and responsibly as a medium to communicate and express one's thoughts, SM can play a very constructive role; however, an unbridled use can have deleterious impacts on the society, and this is what we are seeing right before our eyes. In a society like ours that is already fragmented and divided on racial and sectarian basis, SM is like the festival of *Basant* which people celebrate by flying different, colourful kites from their rooftops. If some people rejoice in cutting string of others' kites, these very strings also slit throats of many, leaving their families grief-stricken and mourning. To sum it up, I would say that the use of SM warrants extreme care and responsible behaviour and the only way to do this is self-control.

#### 2. Mehboob Sarwar, Karachi

Like the rest of the world, there is both positive and



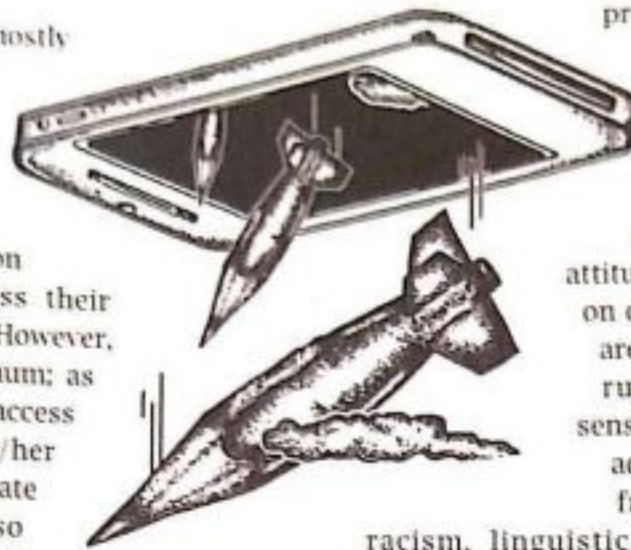
like a toy bomb in the hand of a child who plays with it due to its meretricious beauty but is unaware about the danger it carries. In print media, an editor had a key role to play. He was like a filter who allowed only the authentic information to pass on to the readers. In this context, editor's dustbin has a special idiomatic significance as it would eat up all the negativity and disinformation. However, in SM there is neither an editor nor his symbolic dustbin; ergo, no filtration of news. Although some states have formulated cyber laws, they are insufficient and toothless, to say it mildly. SM, which include platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp, and others, not only have overwhelming influence on the society; they are literally haunting it. Even a single tweet, a blog or a post has the power to give a new direction to the ongoing debates anytime. This is the medium that is not governed by rules and regulations. It is as if you are driving on a spacious road where there is no bump or a speed breaker other than self-control to make you stay

negative use of social media in Pakistan; though, the former is dominant. Since the world has become a global village, liking for negativity has considerably declined, giving an edge to positivity. SM all over the world enjoys unbridled freedom as it is not regulated by an institution or an organization. However, there should be a code of conduct or that of ethics in this regard. Although there are a number of cyber laws for social, moral and personal policing, they need to be reinforced and implemented in letter and spirit. Our religion does also profess to talk to others with politeness and decency. We are free to use SM but we should do so responsibly and keeping in mind that we are Muslims and the citizens of a civilized Muslim state. The government, too, should allow the penetration of SM in the society but it must also ensure that laws to regulate it are strictly implemented.



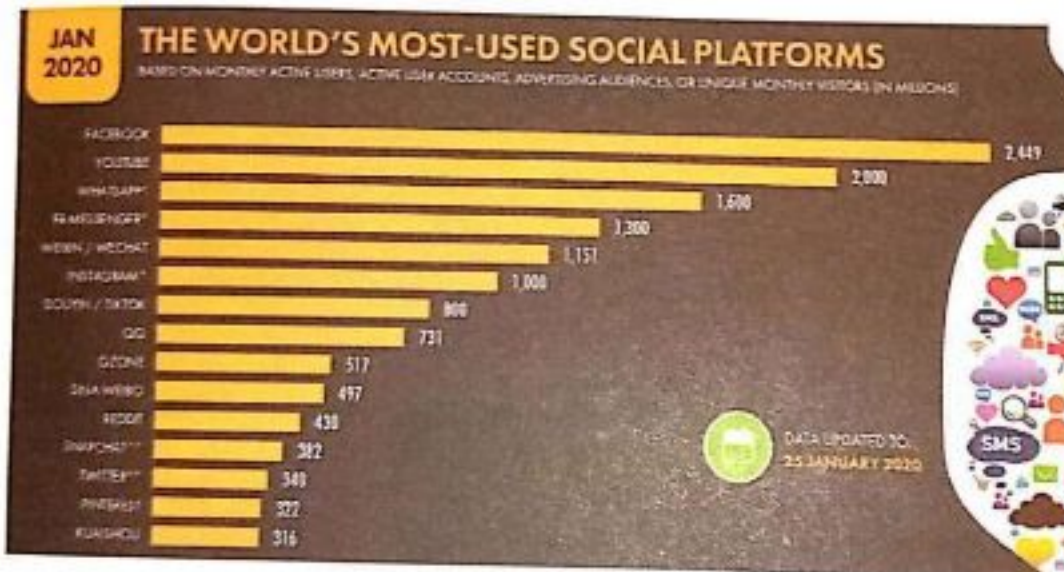
### 3. Javeria Maqbool, Islamabad

Role of social media in Pakistan is mostly positive and constructive. Those who cannot spare time to read newspapers or watch television to keep themselves abreast of latest happenings around them, resort to SM to meet their communication needs. Moreover, they can express their thoughts on a particular happening. However, as regards its freedom, it is maximum; as everyone, even a child, can instantly access the SM platforms to express his/her opinion anytime. You can communicate not only through words but also through pictures and videos there. So, I believe, there should be a code of ethics bringing its use in some limits. The government should define some limitations so as to thwart the spread of negativity and fake news. Training programmes should be devised to achieve his goal. It is also, on the other hand, the responsibility of the citizens that before making viral any piece of information, they should check its veracity and authenticity. People don't like restrictions nowadays



promoting self-concocted truths, and personal attacks amounting to character assassination on Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram and other SM platforms. This attitude is having deleterious impact on our social norms. SM platforms are used to spread fake news, for rumour-mongering, promote sensationalism and deception. In addition, they are also the fora from where users try to incite

racism, linguistic nationalism, sectarianism, religious hatred and to spread obscenity and profanity, thus making the negative use more conspicuous than the positive one. SM has an element of in-built freedom and there are no government authorities or institutions to regulate its use. There are three main viewpoints regarding the formulation of laws and their implementation



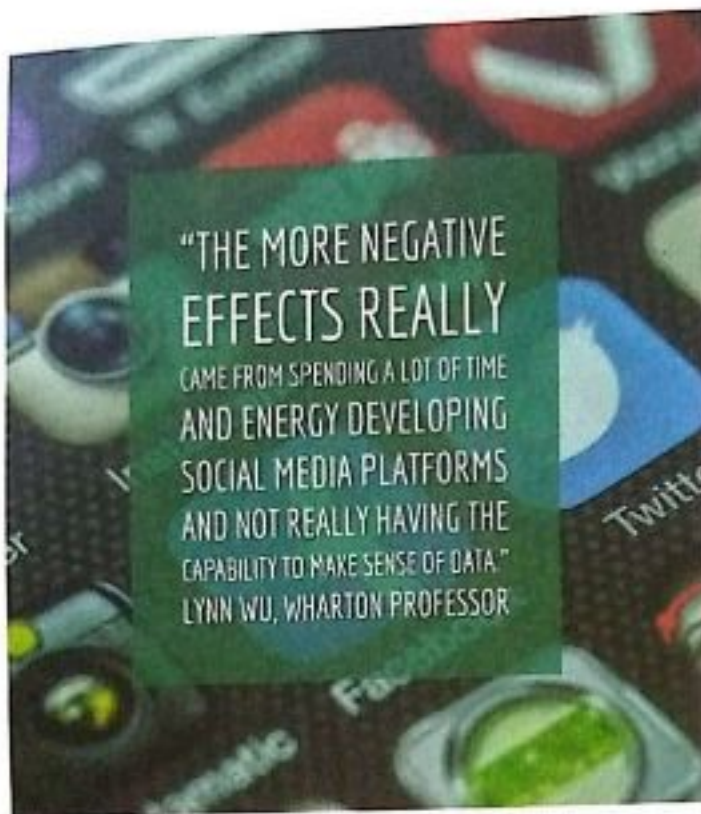
as they like to be free, but freedom is beneficial only when there is the element of responsibility attached to it.

### 4. Ghani-ur-Rehman, Dir Lower, KP

Since social media can be used by anyone anytime, therefore, it has both negative and positive aspects. Preventing the spread of coronavirus by staying updated on all the latest developments from Pakistan and around the world is the most glaring example of its constructive role. Nonetheless, I feel that in our country, the negative use of SM is far more than the positive one. Unfortunately, during the past 8-10 years, the negative use of SM has crossed all limits. Activists and paid trolls of various political parties openly indulge in abuse, spreading fake news and negativity about each other's leadership,

thereupon: A school of thought does not, at all, subscribe to the idea of any rules and regulations. Those who favour this view opine that people will mentally mature and assimilate to the positive use as the times pass by. The second group proactively propounds the idea of regulating SM and formulating strictest of laws to bring it under control. Those believing in this are generally disparaged as conservatives and people of rigid minds. The third viewpoint, to which I also subscribe, is that SM should be free but with some limitations which should be imposed only to discourage negative use of SM. They say that the government should facilitate the use of SM but should also be, at the same time, vigilant to stop





its negative use.

#### 5. Arshad Hussain Jugnoo, Gilgit

Social media have, no doubt, facilitated the people but an unhindered flow of information has made it virtually impossible to sift truth from lies. If we have a look at the nature of the use of SM in Pakistan, it is regrettably true that it has not only damaged the journalistic values and ethics, but has also made us so morally degraded that we don't feel shame in stooping very low when we start character assassination of personalities that are, otherwise, considered noble. Even our political and religious parties don't hesitate from indulging in such filthy tactics. Everyone is bent on projecting negativity instead of highlighting positive things of our society. So, in the light of these facts, I must say that the use of SM in Pakistan is overwhelmingly negative. Although everyone has right to freedom of expression, it doesn't, in any sense, mean that we start pointing fingers at others only to degrade, disparage and ridicule them. It only means to express your opinion on an issue keeping yourself in reasonable limits.

#### 6. Muhammad Farooq Bhatti, Lahore

All the somewhat positive use of social media we see around us is inadvertent. A huge chunk of SM users in our country belongs to lower-middle and middle class. Most of such users log in to SM platforms just to watch video



"We don't have a choice on whether we DO social media, the question is how well we DO it."

- Erik Qualman

and hardly come to the giving end. Those interested in making money from YouTube channels post videos on unimportant, petty issues, and some even resort to obscenity and vulgarity. Most user IDs on Facebook and Instagram are fake. In this way, users easily fall prey to the chicaneries of those having anti-society agenda because when they respond to such a post, they are inadvertently giving a wide dissemination to that. You can say that even the debate on positive and negative use of SM is irrelevant to Pakistan. In our country, SM is not 'free' rather it is on a roller coaster. The freedom to use SM is enjoyed more by the companies or business enterprises that mint money by making use of the people. They make these apps to popularize them among the people and earn money even by using their private data, and, at the same time, they do not allow users to go against their interests. For example, SM websites like Facebook can, at any time, block your posts in the name of community guidelines that are devised just to suppress users' right to freedom of expression. Facebook is

under Indian and Israeli influence and to see this just post the name of Kashmiri hero Burhan Wani and Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the founder of Hamas, your post will be instantly deleted. My own personal account, where I have loads of personal data, pictures, etc., was blocked just because I opposed the inhuman lockdown in

Kashmir, and despite repeated requests, it is still blocked. So, I would say that there must be a code of ethics for SM users which must also be strictly implemented by the government agencies. Particularly, institutions or enterprises must be allowed to open their accounts only with the government permission. Political and religious parties, sectarian pressure groups and other such organizations must not be allowed to run their SM accounts sans permission by the government. There should be a licence and an annual fee for them. ■

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# Online CSS Super Class

## MENTORSHIP PROGRAM

### Test Syllabus

#### Current Affairs (10 Marks)

1. US-China Rivalry
2. Post Corona Global Challenges
3. UN and Its Contemporary Problems

#### Pakistan Affairs (10 Marks)

1. Foreign Policy of Pakistan
2. Ideology of Pakistan
3. Need for Institutional Reforms

#### English (20 Marks)

##### Short Essay

1. E-learning
2. Women Rights
3. Democracy

#### Islamic Studies (10 Marks)

1. Islamic Concept of Governance
2. Social System of Islam
3. Pillars of Islam

Test on: Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> Aug '20 @ 12:30pm

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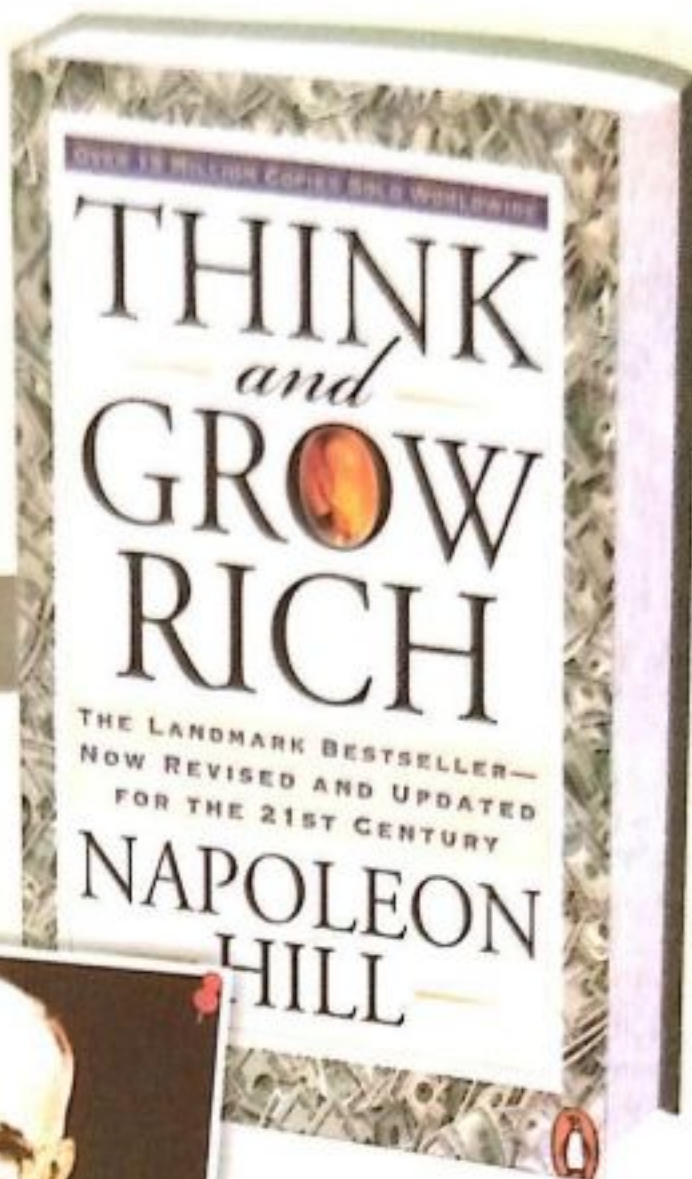
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# The Billionaires' Secret

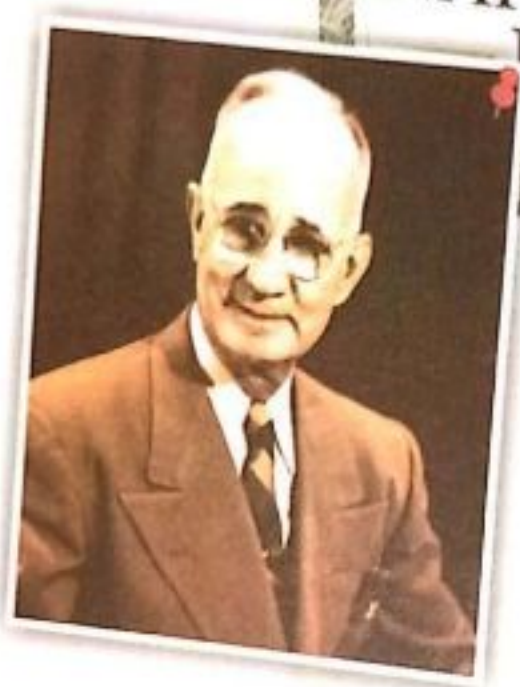
"Success comes to those who become success conscious." — Napoleon Hill

Reviewed by: Saba Sibghat



**T**he first-ever book in motivation and self-help genre, 'Think and Grow Rich', was written in 1938 by an American journalist Napoleon Hill. It is still trending

very high on the Amazon's best-selling list. The book, which is often called the 'granddaddy of all motivational literature,' has sold over 100 million copies till now, and has helped millions achieve great accomplishments. Napoleon Hill interviewed over 500 rags-to-riches tycoons, including Graham Bell, Thomas Edison, Henry Ford and almost all the richest and successful people and scientists of the twentieth century, to find a success formula. It took Hill over 25



Thomas Edison dreamed of a lamp that could function with electricity, and despite more than ten thousand disappointments, he stood by that dream until he made it a tangible reality. Practical dreamers do not resign. Lincoln visualized of freedom for the black slaves, put his dream into action and successfully translated that into reality.

Wright Brothers fantasized a machine that would fly through the air. Now one may see proof all over the world that they dreamed soundly.

Marconi dreamed of a system of connecting the incorporeal forces of the air. Marconi's dream made the people of the earth backdoor neighbours.

Charles Dickens' tragedy of his first love infiltrated the depths of his soul, and converted him into one of the world's greatest authors.

Robert Burns (Celebrated Scottish poet) was uneducated, George Washington (First President of the United States) was born into slavery, Ludwig van Beethoven (Legendary German composer of instrumental music) was deaf, John Milton (Poet of the epic poem 'Paradise Lost') was blind, Helen Keller (Noted American author and political

years to produce Think and Grow Rich. Napoleon Hill was hired by Andrew Carnegie to formulate his law of success.

The first point of Hill's formula of success is 'burning desire'. It is neither a wish nor a hope; it is a keen pulsating desire which transcends everything else in life. Hill associates burning desire with burning-your-boats concept, in which warriors have no other choice but to win or die. He inspires us by citing that Christopher Columbus dreamed of an unknown world, staked his life on the existence of such a world, and finally discovered it. Henry Ford, meagre and unschooled, dreamed of a horseless carriage, started working with tools he possessed, without waiting for chance to favour him, and has put more wheels into action than any man ever.



activist) was deaf, dumb and blind, but their names will last as long as time sustains.

Hill's first point in his success formula is 'Burning desire' which is a mental harmony that does not recognize words like impossible, and accepts no reality as defeat.

The second step to success is to take hold of your subconscious mind. The subconscious mind is the chemical workshop in which all thought impulses are combined, and readied for translation into reality. It makes no distinction between positive and negative impulses. The subconscious mind will interpret into reality a thought compelled by fear just as readily as it will translate into reality a thought motivated by courage or faith. Repletion of statement to your subconscious is the only known method of intended development of the emotion of faith.

*If you think you are beaten, you are,  
If you think you dare not, you don't  
If you like to win, but you think you  
can't,*

*It is almost certain you won't.*

The third step towards success is auto-suggestion. It is the organization of control through which an individual may voluntarily train his subconscious mind with thoughts of innovative

#### Water

#### Who are you?

Romantic like a raindrop.  
Harmful like an ocean storm.  
Innocent like a dew drop.  
Painful like a tear drop.  
Solid like an ice rock.  
Soft like the winter fog.

Can I label you with your containers?

Ocean, river, dam or glass?

You are MYSTERIOUS.

You are shallow.

You are unfathomable.

A hurricane, a tumult, a storm?

Or a commotion predicting calm?

Hey, son of mother earth,

You help her to sow,

And let her plants to grow.

In moonlit nights you danced and sang.

But what happened now?

Your deadly dance is alarming,

Accompanied with global warming,

You swallowed man and land, lively and  
charming.

Some are dying drinking dirty you.

Some are wasting pure form of you

Why some countries stop your flow?

Are you in some political quandary?

Were you not born free of boundary?

No matter what;

You are hope, life and love.

You are source of existence for deer,  
man and dove.



environment, because he has the power to sway his own subconscious mind, and through it, gain the cooperation of infinite intelligence.

The fourth step towards riches is the specialized and practical knowledge, experience, and personal observation in one's field of interest, and not the general knowledge which we mostly gain in schools and colleges.

The fifth, sixth and seventh step are imagination, organized planning and decision-making powers.

The eighth step is persistence. Hill writes that we may find it necessary to 'snap' out of our mental torpor, through a similar process, moving slowly at first, and then increasing our speed, until we gain complete control over our will. He calls on us to be persistent no matter how slowly we may, at first, have to move. With persistence comes success.

The ninth step is the power of mastermind which means "coordination of knowledge and effort, in a spirit of harmony, between two or more people, for attainment of a definite purpose". No individual may have great power without availing himself of the master mind.

The tenth step is the most important key to success and that is to channelize and exhaust your emotions into work instead of getting harmed by them. Out of 27 human emotions, physical desire is the most powerful. This emotion can either make or mar one's life. The art of transmutation of this physical desire is to switch your mind from the thoughts of physical expression to thoughts of

some fruitful nature which help you to achieve your goals. This transmutation transforms mediocrity into genius. ■

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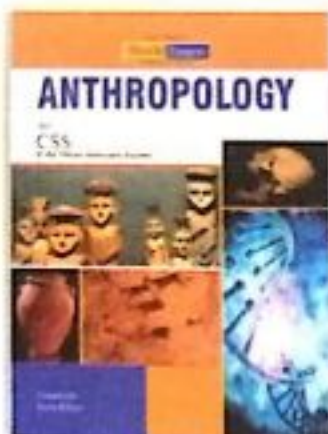
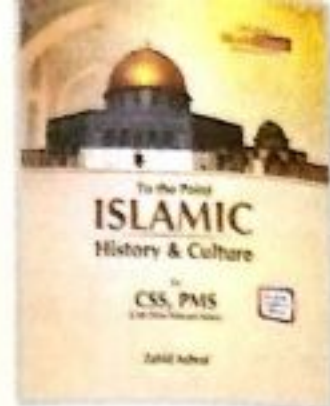
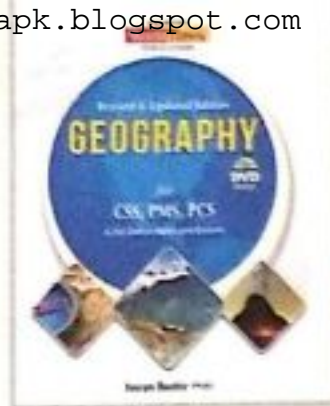
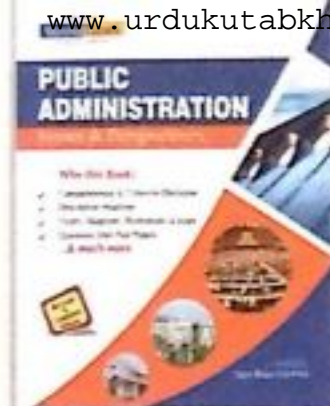
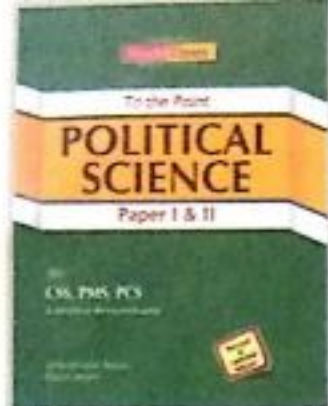
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IS USUALLY BORN OF A  
GREAT SACRIFICE,  
AND IS NEVER THE  
RESULT OF  
SELFISHNESS.**



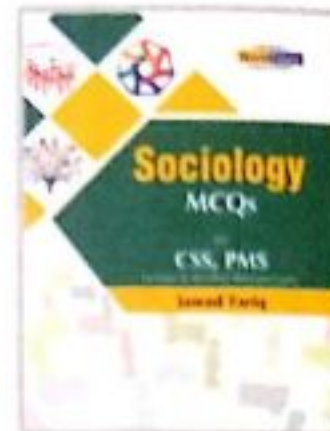
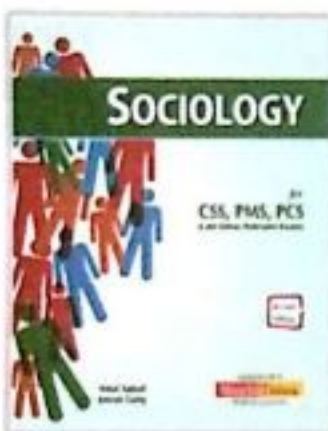
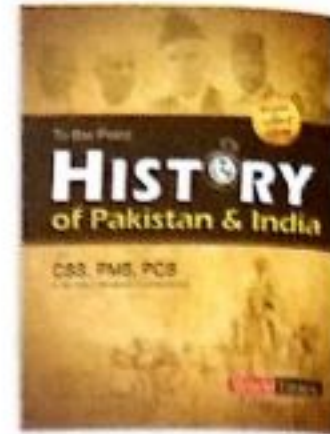
nature, or, by neglect, licence negative thoughts to find their way into this rich garden of the mind called 'subconscious'.

Man can become the master of himself, and his

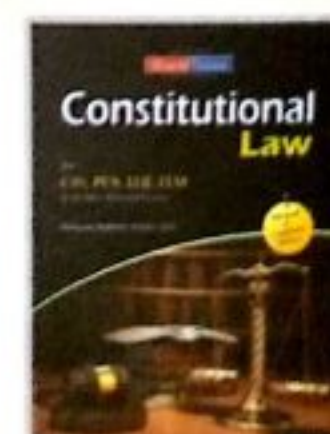
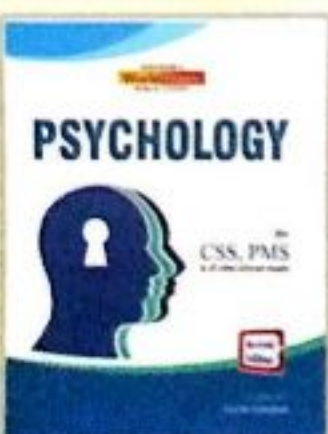
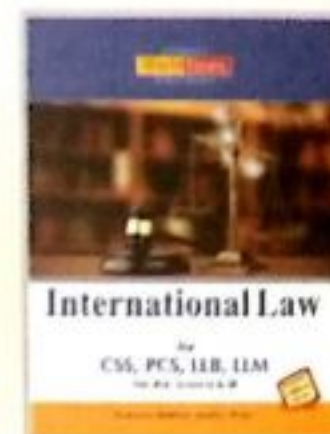
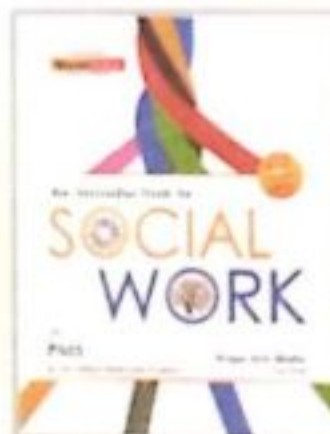
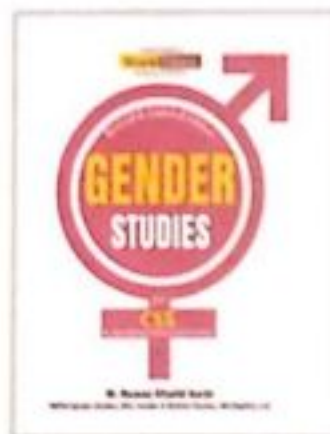
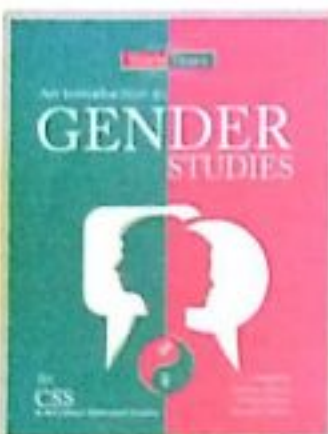




# Best BOOKS for Optional Subjects



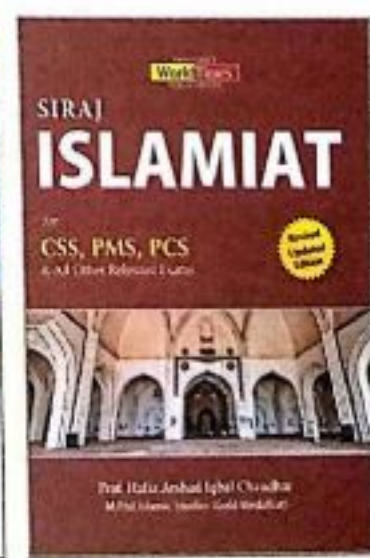
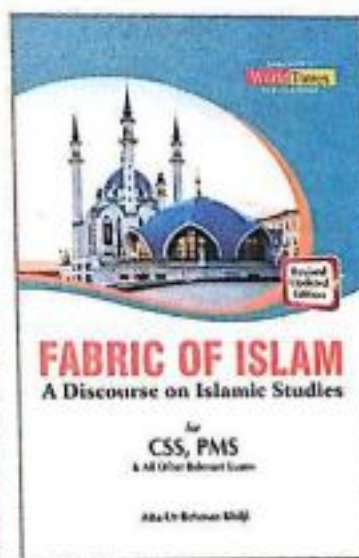
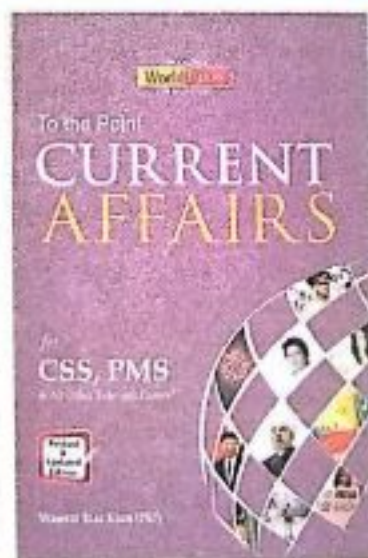
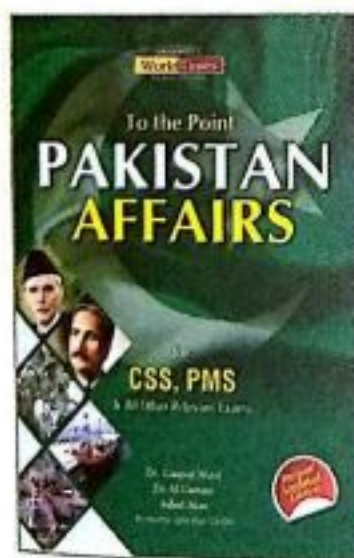
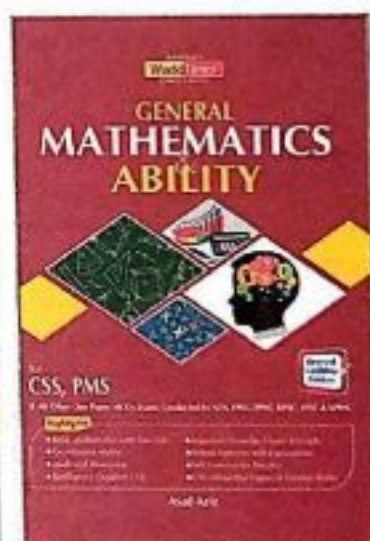
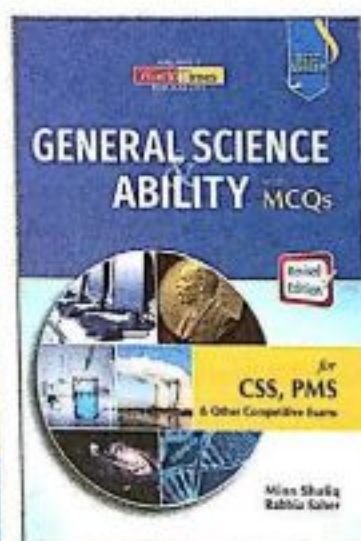
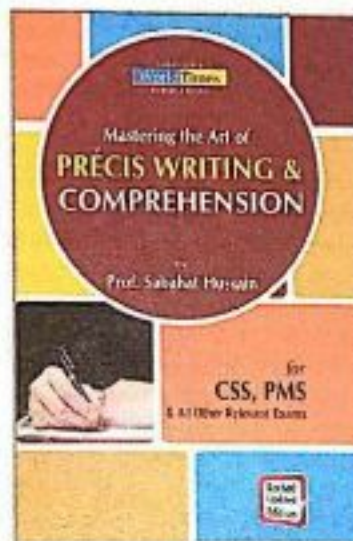
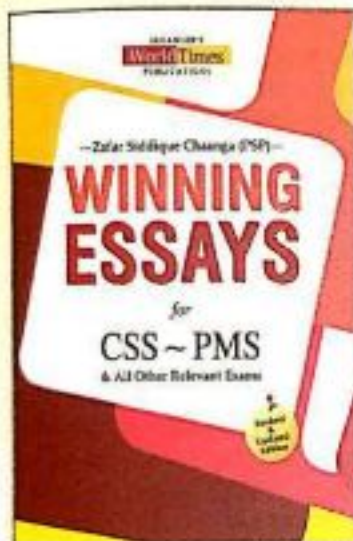
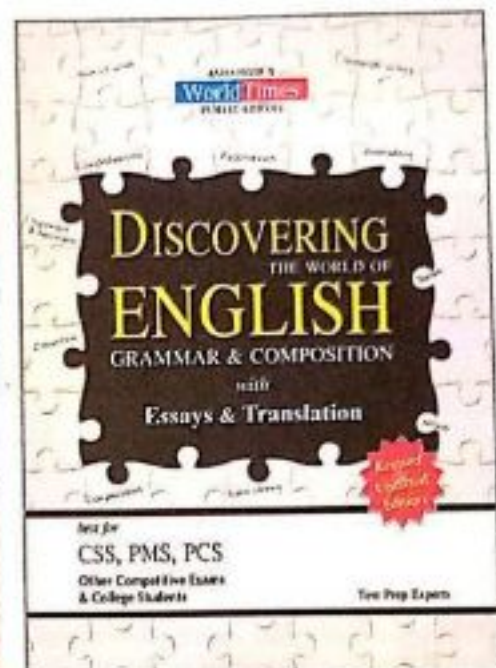
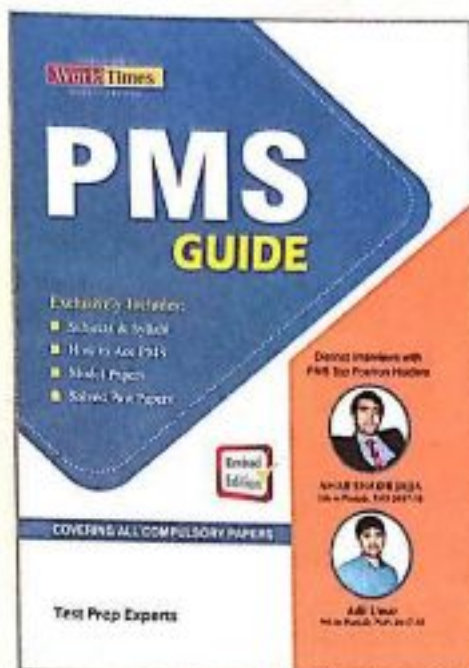
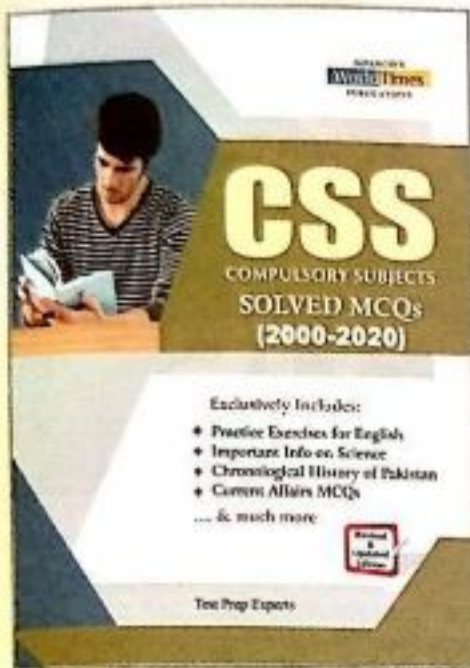
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# WORLD IN FOCUS

## NATIONAL

M. Usman Butt



**June 16:** The Islamabad High Court (IHC) declared appointment of Ali Nawaz Awan as chairman of Local Government Commission (LGC) null and void.

**June 16:** Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (CJCSC) General Nadeem Raza and

all three services chiefs of Pakistan's armed forces visited the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) headquarters in Islamabad where they were given a comprehensive briefing on the regional security issues with special focus on situation of Line of Control (LoC) and Indian-held Kashmir (IHK).

**June 16:** Voicing deep concern over Indian army's continued use of torture and pellet guns against children as well as their illegal detentions in occupied Jammu and Kashmir, UNSG Antonio Guterres called on New Delhi to 'immediately end' such practices.

**June 16:** Prime Minister Imran Khan (PMIK) approved the resumption of international flights to repatriate Pakistanis stranded abroad.

**June 16:** A Peshawar High Court (PHC) bench set aside convictions of around 200 suspected militants by military courts and ordered their release.

**June 17:** Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC) announced final result of CSS Competitive Examination 2019. As many as 365 candidates qualified. Rana Tahir Ali, Muhammad Daud Saleemi and Uzair Ali Khan [all three students of World Times Institute] got first, second and third positions, respectively.

**June 17:** The government enforced the Essential Services Act, 1952, in the Utility Stores Corporation (USC) for a period of six months.

### About the Act

The Act is applicable to every federal organisation whose job is to provide essential services to the people in case of natural disasters and emergencies. The application of the Act

### PSX attack

After a considerable lull, the spectre of urban terrorism returned with full force to Karachi on 29<sup>th</sup> of June, as Baloch separatist militants stormed the Pakistan Stock Exchange. According to security forces, four attackers were neutralised while three security guards and a police officer laid down their lives in the line of duty. The proscribed Balochistan Liberation Army has reportedly taken responsibility for the act of terrorism, while security officials in Sindh as well as the country's foreign minister have accused India for activating 'sleepers' in Pakistan.

The symbolism of the target cannot be missed. The PSX represents the beating heart of economic activity in the country's commercial capital, and is located in an area where the State Bank of Pakistan, the Central Police Office, and other major public and private institutions are based. Clearly, hostile actors are trying to send the message that the country's economic nerve centre is vulnerable.

However, the police, as well as private security guards, must be lauded for their bravery and alacrity, which may have prevented a bigger disaster. Security officials say the attackers came with food and water, indicating that they may have intended to take hostages and prolong the PSX siege. The Sindh Rangers chief says the assault bears a similarity to the November 2018 assault on the Chinese consulate in Karachi, in which BLA attackers were also involved. Moreover, speaking after Monday's incident, he said that Indian intelligence was developing a 'nexus' between Baloch and other separatists, as well as elements loyal to MQM-London, adding that the violence targeting Rangers personnel in Sindh earlier this month, believed to have been carried out by Sindhi separatists, was part of the same agenda. The city's police chief also pointed out that law enforcers had received advance intelligence reports of a possible attack on PSX.

Karachi has witnessed a large number of bombings and other acts of terrorism, mostly orchestrated by jihadi and sectarian militants, over the past two decades or so. This is apart from the ethnic, political and sectarian killings that destroyed the city's peace from the mid-1980s onwards. Too many precious lives of law enforcers as well as citizens have been lost, pushing the city towards a vortex of violence. From Monday's attack, as well as other smaller-scale incidents over the past few days, it is clear that attempts are being made to destabilise the metropolis. Security forces must remain alert and step up intelligence-gathering activities to thwart the plans of subversive elements. The possibility that hostile states are looking to stir up trouble in Pakistan at a time when the geopolitical temperature in the region is rising cannot be discounted, which is why security organs must be proactive.

Moreover, if the reports that different separatists and political militants have joined forces are true, then the state must adapt its counterterrorism policy accordingly.



imposes number of obligations on employees with regard to performances of their duties, breach of which is not only a misconduct under corporation's rules, but also an offence under this Act.

**June 17:** Nawab Akhtar Mengal, head of BNP-Mengal, parted his ways with the PTI-led government coalition.

**June 17:** Sindh government unveiled the budget with a total outlay of Rs1.24 trillion.

**June 17:** Pioneer of TV hosting in Pakistan Tariq Aziz passed away at the age of 84.

#### About Tariq Aziz

Tariq Aziz was born in Jalandhar on April 28, 1936. After partition, his family migrated to Pakistan and settled in Sahiwal, where he received his primary education. He also acted in 42 films from 1968 to 1988. Around 33 of the films were in Urdu and the rest were in Punjabi, including a supporting role in *Insaniyat* along with Zeba and Waheed Murad, and *Haar Gaya Insaan*.

Aziz was also actively involved in politics. He was a member of the National Assembly (NA) in the late 90s. He was also known for his charity work for the destitute and poor.

The government of Pakistan conferred on him the Pride of Performance award for his excellent services in 1992.

**June 18:** An Anti-Terrorism Court (ATC), Islamabad sentenced each of three accused—Khalid Shamim, Mohsin Ali and Moazzam Ali—in MQM leader Dr Imran Farooq murder case to life imprisonment along with Rs1 million fine. The court held that the killing was ordered by the MQM leader, Altaf Hussain.

**June 18:** Pakistan appointed Mansoor Ahmad Khan the country's new ambassador to Afghanistan.

**June 18:** Gilgit-Baltistan Minister for Agriculture Janbaz Khan passed away due to Covid-19.

**June 18:** The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) approved a \$500 million loan to help Pakistan effectively manage the Covid-19 outbreak and reduce its immediate social and economic impacts.

**June 19:** Pakistan and three international financial institutions (IFIs) including World Bank (WB), Asian Development Bank (ADB) and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) signed \$1.5 billion loans agreement.

**June 19:** The Supreme Court quashed a presidential reference against Justice Qazi Faez Isa for allegedly not disclosing foreign properties in his wealth returns, but authorised the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) to conduct inquiry into the allegations on the basis of which a final determination will be made whether to pursue a misconduct reference against the judge or not.

**June 19:** President Dr Arif Alvi appointed Prof Dr Mohammad Tabassum Afzal as the rector of Comsats University.

**June 20:** Renowned poet and educationist Prof Aziz Ahmed, pen-named Manzar Ayubi, passed away at 88.

**June 20:** Prominent religious scholar and principal of Jamia Binoria Al-Alamia, Mufti Muhammad Naeem, passed away.

**June 20:** Pakistan and Asian Development Bank (ADB) signed two financing agreements of US\$359 million for Karachi BRT project (Red Line), education system in Sindh province and others.

**June 21:** Renowned religious scholar Allama Talib Jauhari

## Indian loss, Chinese gain in Chabahar port

After Iran and China have finalised a \$400 billion strategic partnership deal, India has lost the key project of the Chabahar to Zahedan rail project. In 2016, when Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Iran, he signed the rail project deal with Tehran for fast-paced access to Afghanistan, Russia and Central Asian States. Apparently, India has succumbed to the US sanctions imposed on Iran as it has already called off its oil imports deals with Iran. The US had exempted the Chabahar port and the railway line to Zahedan from sanctions. Now, Iran says it will build with its own resources the 628km Chabahar-Zahedan line, which will be extended to Zaranj across the border in Afghanistan. India may face some other setbacks too in the coming days as China has finalised the 25-year \$400bn strategic partnership deal with Iran. Given the gradually diminishing autonomy under the US pressure, and China's increasing role in Iran, India's landmark project of Chabahar Port may go to the Chinese hands. Iran, however, denied the reports giving the impression that Iran will lease the port to China. Though India has yet to officially announce the lost opportunity, the development was reported by The Hindu, a leading Indian paper, which cited "leaked versions" of the 18-page "Comprehensive Plan for Cooperation between Iran and China".

After the downgraded influence of India in Iran and the growing role of China, there is an opportunity for Pakistan. According to the leaked documents, Iran has suggested an agreement between Pakistan's port Gwadar and Chabahar. This may infuriate India, which attaches a great deal of geostrategic importance to the Chabahar port project as it connects India to Russia and Central Asia for rapid connectivity and trade. Pakistan, Iran and China may work out the plan, as India may see it a no-go area. Meanwhile, India should reflect its actions and the results. In recent years, it has lost neighbors' confidence because of its plan to create hegemony in the region. It lost its troopers after a clash with the Chinese troops in the Galwan Valley. It has been snubbed by Gulf states for persecution of the Muslim minority. Regardless of the reasons for India's inability to join the railway project, the decision can only be seen as an opportunity lost. In fact, China has gained from India's loss in Iran and this serves a bitter lesson to Delhi. \*

passed away.

#### About Talib Jauhari

Allama Talib Jauhari was also a poet, historian and a philosopher, credited for various books. He was born in 1938 in Patna in the then-British India and had received his early education from his father Maulana Mustafa Jauhari. In 1949, he migrated to Pakistan with his father. He had learnt Islamic theology for 10 years in Najaf, Iraq, under the guidance of Ayatullah-al-Uzma Sayyid Abu al-Qasim al-Khoei. In 1965, he returned home and started serving as the principal at the Jamia Imamia seminary in Karachi.

**June 21:** Facebook announced the winners of the Ethics in AI Research Initiative for the Asia Pacific. Among the winners from nine different countries is Junaid Qadir, Professor at the Information Technology University (ITU) of the Punjab, along with co-investigator Amana Raquib, Assistant Professor at the Institute of Business Administration (IBA), Karachi.

**June 22:** The Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP) was re-elected to the International Organization of Securities Commissions (IOSCO) Board for the fifth consecutive term of 2020-2022.

#### What is IOSCO?

IOSCO is the leading international policy forum for securities regulators and is recognized as the global standard-setter for securities regulation. IOSCO's membership regulates more



than 95 percent of the world's securities markets in more than 115 jurisdictions. SECP has been an IOSCO member since 1998 and on its Board since 2012.

**June 23:** A two-member bench of Balochistan High Court (BHC) declared null and void a notification issued by President Dr Arif Alvi for constitution of 10th National Finance Commission (NFC), ruling that the members' appointment was not in accordance with the Constitution.

**June 23:** Pakistan and India decided to slash their staff by 50 percent at their missions in Islamabad and New Delhi.

**June 23:** PMIK, who is also the chairman of Gilgit-Baltistan council, appointed Mir Afzal as caretaker chief minister of GB.

**June 24:** The Senate passed a unanimous resolution, demanding the government to ensure writing *Khatim-un-Nabiyeen* with the name of Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) in syllabi and official documents.

**June 24:** Punjab University Institute of Communication Studies (ICS) former director Dr Mugheesuddin Sheikh passed away. He was 69.

**June 24:** Pakistan Stock Exchange announced appointment of Nadir Rahman as its Chief Operating Officer.

**June 25:** A tripartite agreement was signed between a Chinese company and the governments of Pakistan and China for construction of a 1,124-megawatt hydropower project at Kohala on the Jhelum river, at a cost of \$2.4 billion.

**June 25:** The Punjab cabinet accorded approval to develop the Sambli (North) Reserve Forest as the Salt Range National Park over an area of 13,700 acres.

**June 25:** PPP leader and former prime minister Raja Pervez Ashraf was acquitted in the Rental Power Plant reference.

**June 25:** Pakistan rejected the US State Department's Annual Country Report on Terrorism for 2019.

**June 25:** The State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) cut the policy rate by another 100 basis points to bring it to 7%.

**June 26:** PMIK approved MP Scale positions for hiring of profession-

als/technocrats in ministries/divisions and attached departments, and autonomous bodies.

**June 26:** Former Jamaat-e-Islami Ameer, Syed Munawar Hasan, passed away at the age of 78.

#### About the late Ameer

Syed Munawar Hasan was born in Delhi in August 1941. After independence in 1947, he moved with his family to Karachi where he pursued his education and politics. He did his Master's in Sociology and Islamic Studies from Karachi University in 1963 and 1966 with distinctions.

The former JI chief started his politics from the National Students Federation (NSF), a left-leaning student group and remained close to late Mairaj Muhammad Khan. However, in June 1960, Hasan joined the Islamic Jamiat-e-Talaba, the JI's student wing, and became its central chief in 1963 and served in that capacity for three consecutive terms. Hasan joined the Jamaat-e-Islami in 1968 and was elected MNA from Karachi in 1977 by securing the highest vote tally in Pakistan. From 1989 to 1991 and 1992 to 1993, he served as the JI Karachi chief and central Assistant Secretary-General respectively. In 2009, he was elected Jamaat-e-Islami's 'Ameer' in 2009. He was the fourth JI chief who led the party from March 2009 to 2014 when he was succeeded by Sirajul Haq after JI's electoral college picked the latter to head the party for the next five years.

**June 26:** Pakistan was downgraded to "Tier 2 Watch List" of the US State Department Trafficking in Persons report.

**June 27:** The Contact Group of the OIC on Jammu and Kashmir held a virtual meeting against the backdrop of the worsening situation in the occupied valley amid India's growing atrocities and brutalities on the Kashmiri people.

**June 27:** The nationwide tally of Covid-19 patients crossed the 200,000 mark.

**June 28:** Veteran Sindhi politician and ex-provincial minister Haji Munawar Abbasi died.

**June 28:** The Punjab Home Department placed the name of Dr Ashraf Asif Jalali on Fourth





Schedule.

#### What is Fourth Schedule?

The Fourth Schedule is a list of proscribed individuals, who are suspected of terrorism and/or sectarianism, under the Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA), 1997. After receiving credible intelligence, their names are included in the Fourth Schedule as prescribed by the Home Department, and can be subjected to restrictions on travel, speech and business. If a Fourth Scheduler wants to move somewhere, he has to inform the nearby police station, where a station house officer (SHO) deals with him.

According to the law, assets of the Fourth Schedulers are frozen by the government and their names are placed on the Exit Control List (ECL) by the interior ministry.

**June 28:** Pakistan Army troops shot down an Indian spying quadcopter in Hot Spring Sector along the Line of Control (LoC).

**June 29:** The NA passed the Finance Bill 2020 with a total outlay of Rs7,294.9 billion.

**June 29:** The law-enforcement agencies, including the Rapid Response Force (RRF) of Sindh Police, foiled BLA's terrorist attack on the Pakistan Stock Exchange in Karachi.

**June 29:** Syed Ali Shah Geelani quit the Hurriyat Conference.

**June 29:** The World Health Organization (WHO) accredited first independent drug testing laboratory in Pakistan.

**June 29:** Test cricketer Syed Khalid Wazir who toured England with the 1954 Pakistan team, passed away. He was 84.

**June 29:** Pakistan formally reopened the Kartarpur Corridor after three-and-a-half-month-long closure due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

**June 30:** Chairman Board of Investment (BOI) Atif R. Bokhari reconstituted the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Business Council.

**June 30:** The IIU's Board of Trustees approved the appointment of Dr Hathal bin Hamoud Al-Otaibi as new university president.

**June 30:** The World Bank approved a \$500 million (Rs84.16 billion) loan for the Resilient Institutions for Sustainable Economy (RISE) programme in Pakistan.

**June 30:** The government made Secretary Power Division, Irfan Ali, an OSD. He was replaced by Umar Rasul, who, erstwhile, was serving as Secretary Board of Investment (BoI).

**June 30:** The government appointed Muhammad Saleh Farooqi Secretary Commerce.

**June 30:** Yousaf Naseem Khokhar was posted Secretary Interior Division.

**June 30:** Major General Nigar Johar was promoted as Lieutenant General, becoming the first female officer of Pakistan Army to be promoted as three-star officer.

**June 30:** The United Kingdom and European Union (EU) suspended the flight operations of Pakistan's national carrier Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) to and from their airports.

**June 30:** PMIK told the NA that there is little doubt India masterminded and backed the attack on the Pakistan Stock Exchange.

**June 30:** The Punjab government appointed Zahid Akhtar

Zaman the additional chief secretary (ACS) and Inam Ghani an additional inspector general (AIG) for the proposed South Punjab secretariat, taking the first concrete step towards the realisation of South Punjab province.

**July 01:** Haroon Rashid, CEO Shell Pakistan Limited, was elected as the President of the Overseas Investors Chamber of Commerce & Industry (OICCI).

**July 01:** One of Chashma Nuclear Power Plants made a new record in country's history for running full year continuously, thus becoming the first electricity-generation plant to achieve this objective.

**July 01:** Indian troops killed an elderly man in front of his minor grandson during a gun battle with Kashmiri fighters.

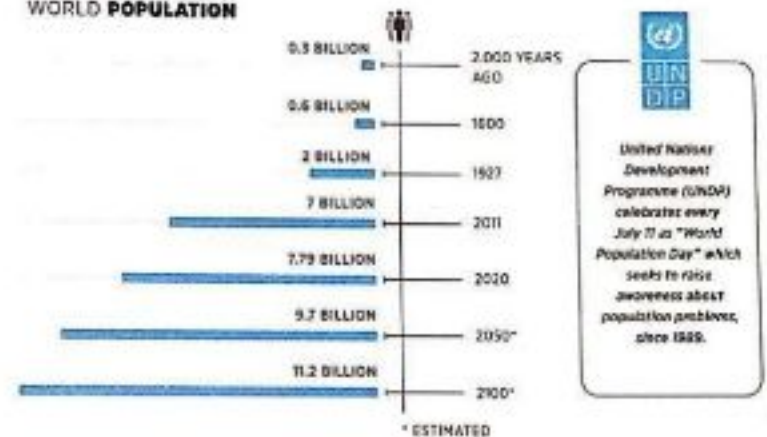
**July 03:** LHC dismissed from service the central character of judge video scandal, Arshad Malik, who had convicted Nawaz Sharif in Al-Azizia reference.

**July 03:** Wing Commander Iftikhar A. Khan, former Honorary Secretary of the Pakistan Golf Federation (PGF), passed away.

**July 03:** Poet, journalist and broadcaster Nasir Zaidi passed away at 78.

## World population may surpass 11 billion by end of century

WORLD POPULATION



**July 04:** The government removed Nausheen Javed Amjad as chairperson of the FBR, appointing Javed Ghani as temporary head of the organisation.

**July 05:** Former federal minister, and a PPP stalwart, Dr Ayatullah Durrani, passed away.

**July 06:** Pakistan signed an agreement with China Gezhouba for Azad Pattan hydropower project that is located on River Jhelum and is expected to be completed in 2026.

A part of CPEC, with an investment of \$1.5 billion, 700.7-megawatt Azad Pattan will not involve fuel import, thus enabling the country to move towards cheaper and greener power while generating local job opportunities.

**July 06:** PMIK inaugurated the country's first-ever indigenously made ventilators at the National Radio and Telecommunication Corporation (NRTC) in Haripur.

**July 06:** The Sindh government made three joint investigation team (JIT) reports, related to Lyari gangwar leader Uzair Baloch, Nisar Morai and Baldia factory case, public.



## Trump's suspension of foreign work visas

US President Donald Trump temporarily suspended entry into the United States of certain foreign workers. Here is a look at the points that sufficiently explain the move.

### Blocked Visa Categories

- H-1B visas for skilled workers, which are often used by the tech industry
  - L visas for executives, managers and specialized workers being transferred within a company
  - H-2B visas for seasonal workers, many of which are in the landscaping business
  - J visas for cultural exchange, including interns, trainees, teachers, camp counselors, au pairs and people participating in a summer work travel program
- The proclamation also blocks family members who would accompany workers on such visas.

### Validity

Foreign workers already in the United States with a valid visa will not be affected. People outside the United States with valid visas and travel documents also will be exempt from the suspension, according to the proclamation.

The proclamation would not prevent also a visa holder inside the United States from extending the visa duration or changing to a different type of visa.

Whether people with these types of visas outside the United States will be able to renew visas and travel documents was not immediately clear.

### Other Exemptions

The proclamation excludes spouses and children of US citizens. Foreigners working in the food supply industry will be exempted. The proclamation also exempts the entry of foreign workers whose admission is deemed to be "in the national interest." The visa suspension narrows an exemption for medical workers made by Trump in April to include only people working on research into the novel coronavirus and those involved in health care for Covid-19 patients.

### People Blocked

The Washington-based Migration Policy Institute estimates that 167,000 workers and their dependents would be blocked between July 1 and Dec. 31, including 72,000 with J-1 visas and 29,000 with H-1B visas.

### Most-affected Countries

The vast majority of H-1B visas – one of the more high-profile categories affected – go to people from India and China. Indians made up 72 percent of the approximately 388,000 H-1B visa petitions approved in fiscal year 2019, which began on Oct. 1, 2018, according to US Citizenship and Immigration Services data. Chinese applicants were 13 percent of the total.

**July 07:** The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly passed a bill that empowers the chief minister to appoint and remove members of the board of governors of medical teaching institutions in the province.

**July 07:** The third round of China-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Vice Foreign Ministers' Strategic Dialogue was held via video link.

**July 08:** Top diplomats of Pakistan and Bangladesh held talks to promote bilateral relations, in a possible thaw.

**July 08:** The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Interfaith Harmony sought Council of Islamic Ideology's advice on issuance of government funds for construction of temple in the federal capital.

**July 08:** Pakistan invited India to initiate the process of 'review and reconsideration' on the sentence of its serving RAW officer Kulbhushan Jadhav as the 60-day time limit following an ordinance by Pakistan ends on July 19.

**July 08:** The Supreme Court ordered the law secretary to immediately seek instructions from the government for setting up at least 120 accountability courts to clear a huge backlog of cases.

**July 09:** The US Department of Transportation suspended PIA's special permit, citing concerns over the flag carrier's safety measures and pilots' "suspicious licenses".

**July 09:** The Director-General National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA), Zulfiqar Ali, was removed from his post.

**July 09:** The nationwide death tally of Covid-19 patients crossed the 5000 mark.

**July 10:** The Pakistan Post issued a commemorative postage stamp of denomination Rs20 to mark the World Population Day.

**July 10:** CM Punjab Sardar Usman Buzdar directed the department concerned to start work on the Greater Thal Canal Project to irrigate the barren lands of Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhang, Muzaffargarh and Khushab.

**July 10:** CM Punjab Usman Buzdar approved to establish River Ravi Front Authority for developing a most modern city in the north of Lahore.

**July 10:** The government promoted Air Vice Marshal (AVM) Aamir Masood to the rank of Air Marshal.

**July 10:** PMIK announced a big incentive package for the construction industry that includes a subsidy of Rs30 billion for the Naya Pakistan Housing Project (NPHP).

**July 11:** The KP government removed Ajmal Wazir as Information Adviser to Chief Minister.

**July 12:** Though among the countries most vulnerable to global warming, Pakistan passed a crucial milestone on the road to environmental protection by meeting the overarching United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 13, which calls for urgent actions to combat climate change and its impacts, 10 years ahead of the deadline.

**July 13:** The NA unanimously passed a resolution demanding the government to take measures for the teaching of Holy Quran with Urdu translation in all the universities and institutions of higher education affiliated with the federal government.

**July 13:** Pakistan and Hungary signed an MoU on cooperation in water management and an amended convention for avoiding double taxation.

**July 13:** Pakistan Navy inducted in its fleet, the state of the art Corvette, Pakistan Navy Ship Yarmook (PNS Yarmook) which is capable of performing multiple naval operations.

**July 13:** Pakistan received record \$23 billion in remittances in 2019-20 while the inflows jumped by 51 percent year-on-year to \$2.466bn in June, data released by the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) showed.

**July 13:** Ms Roohi R. Khan was elected as chairperson of the Board

of Directors of the SNGPL.

**July 14:** The Supreme Court of Pakistan vacated the stay order of the Sindh High Court (SHC) that had suspended the operation of an Inquiry Commission's report to the extent of 12 sugar mills.

**July 14:** Pakistan-born scientist Asifa Akhtar became the first international female vice president of the biology and medicine section at Germany's prestigious Max Planck Society.

**July 15:** KP Chief Minister Mahmood Khan performed the groundbreaking ceremony of Jalozi Economic Zone.

**July 15:** PMIK kicked off mega construction work on the Diamer-Bhasha dam in the Gilgit-Baltistan city of Chilas.

**July 15:** The newly appointed Chairperson of the Competition Commission of Pakistan (CCP), Ms. Rahat Kaunain Hassan, assumed the charge of her office.



## INTERNATIONAL

**June 16:** UN Secretary-General (UNSG) Antonio Guterres removed a Saudi Arabia-led military coalition from a United Nations blacklist on which it has, officially, been for the past three years.

**June 16:** North Korea blew up an inter-Korean liaison office on its side of the border.

**June 16:** British Health Secretary Matt Hancock announced that Britain will immediately start giving dexamethasone to coronavirus patients, after a trial showed the steroid saved the lives of one-third of the gravest cases.

**June 16:** Twenty Indian soldiers were killed in a 'violent face-off' with Chinese troops on the disputed border in Ladakh.

**June 16:** Cricket Australia (CA) chief executive Kevin Roberts resigned.

**June 17:** Christian Coleman, the fastest man in the world was temporarily banned.

**June 17:** Bayern Munich won the Bundesliga title, for the eighth straight year.

**June 18:** The International Energy Agency (IEA) unveiled a three-year, post-pandemic master plan to simultaneously salvage the global economy and reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

**June 18:** The US Supreme Court rejected President Trump's cancellation of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) programme protecting 700,000 'Dreamers'.

**June 18:** India announced to fast track the purchase of additional 21 MiG 29 fighter jets and 12 Sukhoi Su-30 MKI aircraft from Russia.

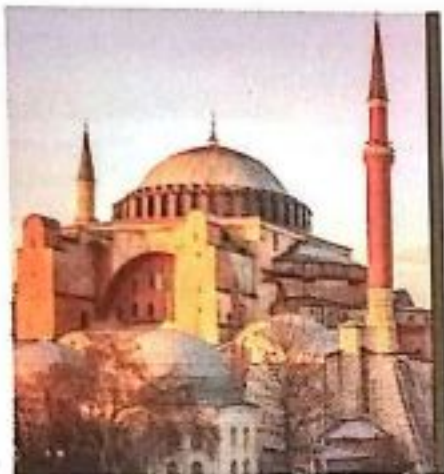
**June 18:** Jean Kennedy Smith, who was instrumental in bringing peace to Northern Ireland, died aged 92. She was the last surviving sibling of former US President John F. Kennedy.

**June 19:** Oscar-nominated British actor Ian Holm, famed for his roles in Hollywood blockbusters "Lord of the Rings" and "Alien," died aged 88.

**June 19:** South Korea's Unification Minister, Kim Yeon-chul, stepped down.

**June 20:** Iran's currency 'rial' dropped to its lowest value ever at 190,000 against a dollar amid severe US sanctions.

**June 20:** A US judge refused to block the release of a tell-all book titled as "The Room Where it Happened," penned by John Bolton, President Trump's former National Security Advisor.



## A MOSQUE, AGAIN

**June 21:** Svein Arne Hansen, the president of European Athletics and longtime organizer of the Bislett Games in Norway, died. He was 74.

**June 22:** Israeli government announced that the country's defence exports amounted to \$7.2 billion in 2019, slightly down from \$7.5 billion the previous year.

**June 22:** In order to document violations and abuses committed in Libya since 2016, the UN Human Rights Council adopted a resolution ordering a "fact-finding mission" to the country.

**June 22:** Saudi Arabia decided to allow a limited number of citizens and residents who are already in the Kingdom to perform this year's Haj.

**June 22:** Carlos Ruiz Zafón, whose popular novel "The Shadow of the Wind" made him one of the world's most beloved Spanish authors, died. He was 55.

**June 22:** Serbian President Aleksandar Vucic declared a landslide victory for his ruling party in the parliamentary election.

**June 22:** Southern separatists and Yemen's internationally-recognised government agreed to a ceasefire.

**June 23:** Japan's Fugaku supercomputer, built with government backing and used in the fight against coronavirus, was ranked as the world's fastest.

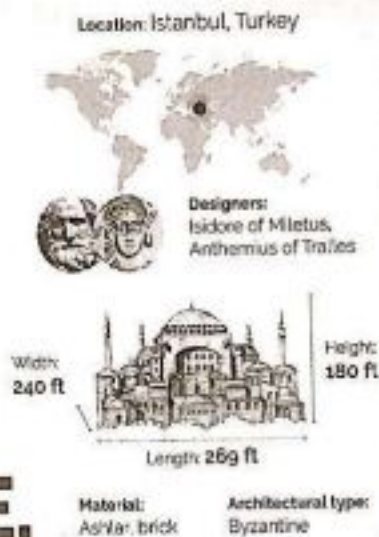
**June 23:** Joel Schumacher, the director, screenwriter and costume designer with a wide-ranging filmography, died.

**June 23:** Burundi's national assembly approved the nomination of Alain-Guillaume Bunyoni as the country's new prime minister.

**June 23:** China launched the final satellite in its Beidou constellation.

**June 24:** Kosovo President Hashim Thaci was charged with 10 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity for his role in the country's conflict in the 1990s.

**June 24:** The United



### HISTORY





### 1. What is 5G?

It is the fifth-generation successor to 4G technology, which is a decade-old, and is struggling to keep pace with global broadband demand. The rollout of 5G promises radically quicker transfers of data, heralding major changes to an array of products and services from self-driving cars to remote surgery. It is not just about speed of downloads and uploads: 5G brings much lower "latency"—the time lag between a command being sent by a user and a device acting on it—than 4G. In the real world, that brings into play the possibility of surgeons operating on patients from afar using augmented reality glasses.

### 2. When is it coming?

The technology is already in wide use in South Korea and for fixed internet lines in some US cities. It is also available in parts of Europe and Asia. The global breakthrough—widespread ultra-fast mobile networks on a par with 4G today—is still in the works. Worldwide, only one in five mobile connections will be running on 5G networks by 2025, mobile communications industry body GSMA forecast in March.



### 3. 5G, give us a wave

Governments first need to harmonise standards for the award of so-called millimetre-wave (mmWave) spectrum, which will carry the vast data flows promised by 5G. That high-frequency mmWave spectrum starts at about 30 gigahertz. In contrast, 4G networks operate at lower than 6 GHz.

### 4. Who's building it?

To bring the promised speeds to the masses, 5G requires a whole new infrastructure of masts, base stations and receivers. Among the networking companies in the race are Huawei, Sweden's Ericsson, Nokia of Finland, Samsung and NEC of Japan. Huawei is the sector leader, and says it offers better technology at a much lower cost.

### 5. What's the fuss?

The US government says Huawei—founded by former Chinese army engineer Ren Zhengfei—is a security risk, and has urged allies to shun its equipment over fears it could serve as a Trojan horse for Chinese intelligence services. Australia and Japan have followed in freezing the company out of their 5G development.

States vetoed a joint move by Pakistan and China to designate Venumadhav Dongara, a Kabul-based Indian engineer, as a global terrorist under the 1267 Sanctions List of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

**June 25:** FIFA chose the bid of Australia and New Zealand to host the 2023 women's World Cup.

The 2023 tournament, which will be the ninth women's World Cup, will be the first 32-team women's event, up from the 24 nations who competed at last year's finals in France, won by the United States.

**June 25:** Mongolia's ruling party won a landslide election victory to retain an overwhelming majority in parliament.

**June 26:** A Turkish court handed down life sentences to 121 people for taking part in the 2016 attempted overthrow of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

**June 26:** Liverpool were crowned Premier League champions, ending a 30-year wait for the English title.

**June 26:** Japan produced its first ninja studies graduate Genichi Mitsuhashi, who spent two years honing his martial arts skills and absorbing the finer traditions of the feudal martial arts agents.

**June 26:** The United States announced to restrict visas for a number of Chinese officials, accusing them of infringing on the autonomy of Hong Kong.

**June 26:** Russia quit a voluntary United Nations arrangement that aimed to protect hospitals and humanitarian aid deliveries in Syria from being hit by the warring parties.

**June 26:** The Dutch government reached a deal with France to contribute 3.4 billion euros (3.07 billion pounds) to an Air France-KLM bailout that had strained relations between the airline group's state shareholders.

**June 27:** Micheal Martin was elected as Ireland's new prime minister, after his centre-right Fianna Fail party sealed a historic coalition deal with rivals Fine Gael as well as the Green Party.

**June 27:** The UN's weather agency announced the longest lightning bolt on record—a single flash in Brazil on October 31, 2018 that cut the sky across more than 700 kilometres.

**June 28:** The opposition won Malawi's historic rerun of the

presidential election, the first time a court-overturned vote in Africa has led to the defeat of an incumbent leader.

**June 28:** Worldwide confirmed coronavirus infections hit the 10 million mark.

**June 28:** Iceland's President Gudni Johannesson was re-elected with a whopping 92 percent of the vote.

**June 28:** Poles voted in a presidential election that was delayed by the coronavirus pandemic.

**June 29:** A Paris court sentenced former French prime minister Francois Fillon to five years in prison after finding him guilty of orchestrating a fake job for his wife.

**June 29:** Indian government banned 59 Chinese mobile apps, including TikTok.

**June 29:** Iran issued arrests warrants for US President Donald Trump and 35 others over the killing of top general Qassem Soleimani.

**June 29:** India's Nitin Menon, 36, became the youngest member of the ICC's elite umpire list.

**June 29:** The US Supreme Court struck down a Louisiana law that tightly restricted access to abortion.

**June 30:** China promulgated its new national security law on Hong Kong.

**June 30:** Carl Reiner, a driving force in American comedy as a writer died at age 98.

**June 30:** Iran sentenced Ruhollah Zam, a once-exiled journalist, to death over his online work that helped inspire nationwide economic protests at the end of 2017.

**June 30:** India's Shashank Manohar stepped down as chairman of the ICC after four years in office.

**July 01:** Germany took the helm of the EU's rotating presidency.

**July 02:** Legendary batsman Everton Weekes, the last of the famed West Indies 'Three Ws', died. He had the unique distinction of being the only cricketer with centuries in five consecutive Test innings.

**July 02:** Led by Elon Musk, Tesla became the world's richest car company.

**July 02:** Russia announced the final result of the July referendum. Nearly 78 percent of voters backed changes to



the constitution allowing Putin, whose fourth term as president ends in 2024, to run for two more back-to-back six-year terms.

**July 03:** China appointed hardliner Zheng Yanxiong to head a new national security agency in Hong Kong.

**July 03:** Abdul Rashid Dostum, a powerful Afghan warlord, was awarded the rank of marshal, Afghanistan's highest military rank.

**July 03:** Finland's Air Force Command dropped a swastika logo from its unit emblem—after a century—and replaced it with a neutral insignia featuring a golden eagle.

**July 03:** French President Emmanuel Macron named Jean Castex, a senior but low-profile bureaucrat, as prime minister to replace Edouard Philippe.

**July 03:** Renowned Indian choreographer Saroj Khan, died. She was 71.

**July 05:** Valtteri Bottas won the season-opening Austrian Grand Prix.

**July 06:** Israel launched a new reconnaissance satellite named as 'Ofek 16'.

**July 06:** Ennio Morricone, one of the world's best-known and most prolific composers of film scores, died at the age of 91.

**July 06:** Indian and Chinese troops started pulling back from Galwan Valley.

**July 06:** The US Supreme Court justices unanimously rejected the idea that electors, who act on behalf of a state in the Electoral College vote that occurs weeks after voters go the polls, can exercise discretion in the candidate they back.

**July 06:** Afghan President Ashraf Ghani appointed senior leader Mohammad Umer Daudzai his special representative for Pakistan.

**July 07:** Willi Holdorf, the 1964 Olympic decathlon champion, died at the age of 80.

**July 07:** Agnes Callamard, the UN special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, held that the

US drone strike that killed Iran's top general Qasem Soleimani was "unlawful".

**July 07:** The US announced it was providing \$1.6 billion in funding for the development and manufacture of a Covid-19 vaccine candidate produced by biotech firm Novavax, the largest amount awarded under Operation Warp Speed.

**July 07:** Opposition candidate Luis Abinader swept to victory in the Dominican Republic's presidential election.

**July 09:** The World Meteorological Organization announced that annual mean global temperature is likely to be at least one degree Celsius above pre-industrial levels in each of the next five years.

**July 09:** The first virtual meeting of the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA) on Covid 19 outbreak was held.

**July 09:** The US Supreme Court ruled that President Donald Trump must hand over his tax returns to New York prosecutors.

**July 09:** Mexican President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador held talks with his US counterpart Donald Trump at the White House.

**July 09:** The WHO, which faced fierce US criticism over its handling of the coronavirus crisis, launched an independent panel to review its response to the pandemic.

**July 10:** Nepal's cable television operators suspended Indian news channels for "objectionable" reporting on the country's prime minister.

**July 10:** President Erdogan declared Istanbul's Hagia Sophia open to prayer as a mosque after a top court ruled that the building's conversion to a museum by modern Turkey's founding statesman was illegal.

**July 10:** The Netherlands announced to take Russia to the European Court of Human Rights for its role in bringing down Malaysia Airlines flight MH17 over Ukraine, killing nearly 300 people.

**July 11:** Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong's party

### GK Tidbits

1. The Max Planck Society is the most successful research organization of: **Germany**

2. The US Navy flight officer insignia is known as: **The Wings of Gold**

3. The Khanki Headworks was constructed in: **1892**

4. Khanki Barrage has been constructed on river: **Chenab**

5. The person who is often referred to as the discoverer of 'The New World' is: **Christopher Columbus**

6. Columbus was an Italian navigator who reached the Americas in: **1492**

7. The United States got independence on 4 July 1776 from: **Great Britain**

8. The Korean War broke out when communist North Korea invaded the US-backed South on: **June 25, 1950**

9. The Korean peninsula was divided by Moscow and Washington at the end of: **Second World War**

10. The Victorious Fatherland Liberation War is the name given to the Korean War by: **North Korea**

11. Rodong Sinmun is an official newspaper from: **North Korea**

12. World Hydrography Day is observed on: **June 21**

13. International Hydrographic Organization is headquartered in: **Monaco**

14. South Asian University was established by member nations of: **SAARC**

15. Established in 2010, the SAU is headquartered in: **New Delhi, India**

16. The Motto of SAU is: **Knowledge without Borders**

17. Alhambra Palace is located in: **Spain**

18. The Alhambra was the seat of: **Nasrid dynasty**

19. The last Muslim rulers in the Iberian Peninsula were from: **Nasrid dynasty**

20. The Nasrid dynasty ruled Granada from 1238 until Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella re-conquered the city in: **1492**

21. PTV started its transmission on: **November 26, 1964**

22. The announcements on the first day of TV

transmission in Pakistan were made by: **Tariq Aziz and Kanwal Naseer**

23. The first quiz show on PTV was hosted by: **Ashfaq Ahmed**

24. A Turing test is a method of inquiry in: **Artificial intelligence**

25. The first Apple iPhone was launched in: **2007**

26. The unit of length that is equal to around 5.8 trillion miles is: **Light year**

27. Originally Amazon, the world's largest online retailer, only sold: **Books**

28. Elon Musk is the CEO of: **Tesla**

29. The prestigious university Microsoft founder Bill Gates dropped out of is: **Harvard**

30. A Geiger Counter measures: **Radiation**

31. Trilateration is a mathematical technique used by: **GPS devices**

32. GPS stands for: **Global positioning system**

33. Famous British physicist who wrote 'A Brief History of Time' was: **Stephen Hawking**

34. The number of characters Twitter originally restricted its users to was: **140**

35. The instrument used to measure wind speed is:



comfortably won general elections.

**July 11:** President Donald Trump commuted the sentence of his longtime political confidant Roger Stone, intervening in extraordinary fashion in a criminal case that was central to the Russia investigation and that concerned the president's own conduct.

**July 11:** Dubai announced a new package worth 1.5 billion dirhams (\$408 million) to help the economy cope with the effects of the coronavirus pandemic.

**July 12:** The US Navy welcomed its first Black female Tactical Aircraft pilot, Lt. Madeline Swegle.

**July 12:** Finance ministers of the 19 current euro nations and European Central Bank President Christine Lagarde agreed to admit Croatia and Bulgaria, the two European Union members, to the waiting room for the euro, known in European Union jargon as the Exchange Rate Mechanism II.

**July 12:** The United States and five Central Asian countries pledged to work together to build economic and trade ties that would connect Central Asia to markets in South Asia and Europe.

**July 12:** Britain pledged 705 million (\$890 million, 788 million euros) to prepare its borders for cutting ties with the European Union on December 31.

**July 13:** The WHO warned that too many countries were bungling their response to the coronavirus pandemic, meaning there could be no return to normality any time soon.

**July 13:** China slapped retaliatory sanctions on three senior Republican lawmakers and a US envoy.

**July 13:** Nepali PM KP Sharma Oli stirred a controversy by claiming that Hindu deity Rama was a Nepali.

"Lord Rama's kingdom Ayodhya is located west of Birgunj in Nepal and India has created a disputed Ayodhya," said Nepal Prime Minister.

**July 13:** Polish President Andrzej Duda squeezed past his rival to win re-election.

**July 13:** Zindzi Mandela, the youngest daughter of South Africa's

## Diamer-Bhasha dam

Prime Minister Imran Khan promised to build the "biggest dam in Pakistan's history" as he spoke in Chilas at a public address related to the Diamer-Bhasha Dam project. Once completed, the dam would generate around 4,500MW of hydel power and have a storage capacity of about eight million acre-feet. Around 16,000

jobs will also be created for its construction. These numbers will make it one of the country's largest functioning dams. For what its worth, it will be Pakistan's highest dam, and could challenge Tarbela in terms of power generation.

PM Khan also rightly noted how beneficial the dam would be for the local and national economy, including as a potential tourism engine down the line. He drew parallels to China and the vast number of dams it has, ignoring the fact that the country has more rivers and a land area about 12 times that of Pakistan. Yes, "massive mistakes" were made in the past, but they have less to do with the raw number of dams and more with construction delays and timely replacement of the ones that were planned or built. The PM also overstated the dam's approval timeline by a few decades and oversold its overall significance. Diamer-Bhasha dam will primarily be a hydel facility with a massive reservoir. In terms of agriculture, while important, it will not substitute for other water projects because its location makes the reservoir unsuitable for a broader canal network.

The PM did say that the government will build more dams on rivers, noting how they will eventually help reduce the fuel bill for power plants. However, he did not mention Kalabagh Dam, which has benefits across the board but would probably cost a few PTI leaders seats in K-P. The ANP of 'Purana Pakistan' had vehemently opposed the dam for the same reason — political expediency. Will the PTI be different?



## GK Tidbits

### Anemometer

36. The device used to measure the strength of a magnetic field is: **Magnetometer**

37. The method of growing plants without soil is called: **Hydroponics**

38. Medical term for low blood sugar is: **Hypoglycaemia**

39. Mycology is the study of: **Mushrooms**

40. Named after an Ancient Greek physician, the Hippocratic Oath is taken by: **Doctors**

41. The scientific name for the human kneecap is: **Patella**

42. Chickenpox is another name for the disease known as: **Varicella**

43. A scientist who studies rocks is called: **Geologist**

44. Phytology is another word for the study of: **Botany**

45. Total internal reflection of light is possible when light enters from: **Water to air**

46. The transition metal that is in liquid state is: **Mercury**

47. The UNESCO declared 2011 as International Year of: **Chemistry**

48. In absence of ribosome in cell, the function that does not take place is: **Protein synthesis**

49. The last ruler of the Tughlaq dynasty of the Delhi Sultanate was: **Nasir ud-Din Mahmud**

50. The tissue that helps in healing of the wounds is: **Epithelium**

51. The Afghan ruler of India whose administrative system was emulated by the British was: **Sher Shah Suri**

52. Temporary hardness of water is due to the presence of: **Magnesium bicarbonate**

53. The sports event with which the term 'Regatta' is associated is: **Rowing**

54. Rotation of the earth causes deflection of wind by the force named: **Coriolis force**

55. The person who controls a football match is called: **An umpire**

56. Shuddhi Movement was started by: **Swami Dayanand Saraswati**

57. The first Indian woman President of the Indian

National Congress was: **Sarojini Naidu**

58. The animals that have a diet mainly consisting of bamboo are: **Red pandas**

59. Thermal decomposition of alkanes is known as: **Cracking**

60. First Olympic Games were held in: **776 BC**

61. The maximum duration of totality for a solar eclipse can be: **7 minutes 40 seconds**

62. The vitamin that is most readily manufactured in our bodies is: **Vitamin D**

63. The celebrated novel 'The Godfather' was authored by: **Mario Puzo**

64. The total surface area of earth approximately is: **510 million sq km**

65. Nawab Sirajuddaulah was defeated by Lord Clive in the battle of: **Plassey**

66. In human body, Humerus and Femur are: **Leg bones**

67. The book that is also called as the 'Bible of Communism' is: **Das Kapital**

68. 'Nightingale of India' was the title given to: **Sarojini Naidu**



first black president and anti-apartheid icon Nelson Mandela, died at the age of 59.

**July 14:** The Iranian government kicked India out of the rail line project from the Chabahar port to Zahedan.

**July 14:** Britain ordered the phased removal of Chinese telecoms giant Huawei from its 5G network.

**July 14:** The UN's top court backed Qatar in a bitter row with four Middle East nations that imposed an air blockade against Doha after accusing it of backing radical Islamists and Iran.

**July 14:** US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said the United States would treat Beijing's pursuit of resources in the dispute-rife South China Sea as illegal, ramping up support for Southeast Asian nations and triggering a furious response from Beijing.

**July 15:** The United States government rescinded its controversial decision to revoke foreign student visas whose courses move online due to coronavirus.

**July 15:** A European court annulled an EU order that Apple repay Ireland 13 billion euros (\$15 billion) in back taxes, in a major legal setback for Brussels.

**July 15:** The CPJ announced to honour lawyer Amal Clooney with this year's the Gwen Ifill Award.

**July 15:** The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) announced to honour four courageous journalists—Shahidul Alam from Bangladesh, Mohammad Mosaed from Iran, Dapo Olorunyomi from Nigeria and Svetlana Prokopyeva from Russia with this year's International Press Freedom Award.

## US-China consular spat

### Tit-for-tat timeline

China consulates in the US



US consulates in China

US embassy Beijing

Rules of the group.

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No Smiley No Pm otherwise Removed + Blocked

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China

Chengdu  
Wuhan  
Shanghai  
Guangzhou  
Hong Kong and Macau  
Ordered closed by Beijing, July 24

### GK Tidbits

69. In metabolism, enzymes act as: **Catalyst**

70. The essential element in all organic compounds is: **Carbon**

71. The Ring of Fire, where many volcanic eruptions and earthquakes occur, is a major area in: **Pacific Ocean**

72. About 90% of world earthquakes occur in the region called: **The Ring of Fire**

73. The exchange rate regime that is most popular in the world today is: **Fixed-but-Adjustable Exchange Rate**

74. Paper Currency Act was enacted by British Government of India in: **1861**

75. The Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance was also known as: **Hilton-Young Commission**

76. Hilton-Young Commission recommended to the government to create a central bank in the country in: **1926**

77. The ports that are central to China's String of Pearls geopolitical strategy are Chittagong, Hambantota, Sittwe, and: **Gwadar**

78. Hambantota is a sea port of: **Sri Lanka**

79. Sittwe port is in: **Myanmar**

80. India launched Operation Samudra Setu to evacuate its citizens from: **Maldives**

81. India recently conducted the flight trial of an anti-guided missile named: **Dhruvastra**

82. The first drug that saved lives of Covid-19 patients was: **Dexamethasone**

83. The metals required for transmission of nerve impulses are: **Sodium, Potassium & Magnesium**

84. Bullfighting is the national game of: **Spain**

85. A reduced ability to focus on near objects is called: **Presbyopia**

86. Established in 1875, the first stock exchange in Asia was: **Bombay Stock Exchange**

87. Bombay Stock Exchange is located at: **Dalal Street, Mumbai**

88. The trees that shed their leaves once a year are called: **Deciduous trees**

89. The terms Hypoglycaemia and Hyperglycaemia are related to: **Blood sugar**

90. The person who initiated the slogan 'Inqlab Zindabad' was: **Maulana Hasrat Mohani**

91. The CPU and memory are located on:

**Motherboard**

92. The Sultan of Delhi Sultanate when Timur invaded India in 1398 was: **Mahmud Shah Tughluq**

93. The bacteria cannot degrade the detergents easily due to highly branched chain of: **Hydrocarbons**

94. The other name of aurora borealis is: **Northern polar lights**

95. Nawab of Bengal Sirajuddaulah, attacked British Factory in Calcutta in: **1756**

96. Vacuum pump consisting of a piston and an air gun cylinder was invented by: **Otto von Guericke (1654)**

97. Kookaburras is the nickname of hockey team of: **Australia**

98. Blood circulation was discovered by: **William Harvey**

99. Longest cells of human body are: **Nerve cells**

100. The first to establish "Printing Press" in India were: **Portuguese**



## MCQs / NATIONAL

1. The incumbent Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (CJCSC) is \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Gen Qamar Javed Bajwa  
(b) Gen Nadeem Raza  
(c) Gen Shahid Hayat  
(d) Gen Osman Ali Malik

2. On June 16, a \_\_\_\_\_ High Court bench set aside convictions of around 200 suspected militants by military courts and ordered their release.

- (a) Lahore (b) Islamabad  
(c) Peshawar (d) Sindh

3. The Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC) announced the final result of CSS Competitive Examination 2019 on \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) June 17 (b) June 18  
(c) June 20 (d) June 22

4. On June 17, the government enforced the Essential Services Act of \_\_\_\_\_, in the Utility Stores Corporation (USC) for a period of six months.

- (a) 1952 (b) 1956  
(c) 1962 (d) 1978

5. Pioneer of TV hosting in Pakistan, Tariq Aziz, received a Pride of Performance award for his excellent services, in \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) 1989 (b) 1992  
(c) 1996 (d) 2004

6. On June 18, Pakistan appointed Mansoor Ahmad Khan the country's new ambassador to \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) USA (b) China  
(c) France (d) Afghanistan

7. On June 19, Pakistan and three international financial institutions including \_\_\_\_\_, Asian Development Bank and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank signed \$1.5 billion loans agreement.

- (a) IsDB (b) IMF  
(c) World Bank (d) ECB

8. On \_\_\_\_\_, the Supreme Court quashed a presidential reference against Justice Qazi Faez Isa for allegedly not disclosing foreign properties in his wealth returns.

- (a) June 19 (b) June 20  
(c) June 22 (d) June 24

9. Prominent religious scholar and

principal of Jamia Binoria Al-Alamia, Mufti Muhammad Naeem, passed away on \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) June 18 (b) June 20  
(c) June 22 (d) June 23

10. Renowned religious scholar Allama Talib Jauhari passed away on \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) June 19 (b) June 20  
(c) June 21 (d) June 22

11. On June 21, Facebook announced the winners of the Ethics in AI Research Initiative for the Asia Pacific, including \_\_\_\_\_ Pakistanis.

- (a) None (b) 1  
(c) 2 (d) 3

12. Pakistani winners of Facebook's Ethics in AI Research Initiative include Junaid Qadir of ITU, Punjab, and Amana Raquib of IBA, \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Sukkur (b) Karachi  
(c) Lahore (d) Rawalpindi

13. On June 22, the SECP was re-elected to the International Organization of Securities Commissions (IOSCO) Board for the \_\_\_\_\_ consecutive term.

- (a) Fifth (b) Sixth  
(c) Seventh (d) Eighth

14. On June 23, a bench of \_\_\_\_\_ High Court declared null and void a presidential notification for constitution of 10th National Finance Commission (NFC).

- (a) Balochistan (b) Sindh  
(c) Lahore (d) Peshawar

15. The ex-officio Chairman of Gilgit-Baltistan Council is \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) President of Pakistan  
(b) Prime Minister of Pakistan  
(c) Federal Minister for Kashmir Affairs  
(d) Governor, Gilgit-Baltistan

16. On June 23, \_\_\_\_\_ was appointed the caretaker chief minister of Gilgit-Baltistan.

- (a) Jalal Maqpoon (b) Mir Afzal  
(c) Janbaz Khan (d) Hafiz Usama Ali

17. On June 24, Pakistan Stock Exchange announced the appointment of \_\_\_\_\_ as its Chief Operating Officer.

- (a) Mushtaq Ahmad (b) Nadir Rahman  
(c) Munawar Kamal (d) Moeen Haider

18. On June 25, a tripartite agreement was signed for construction of a

1,124-megawatt hydropower project at Kohala on the \_\_\_\_\_ river.

- (a) Indus (b) Chenab  
(c) Sutlej (d) Jhelum

19. On June 25, the Punjab cabinet approved the development of 'Sambli (North) Reserve Forest' that will be spread over an area of \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) 12000 acres (b) 13000 acres  
(c) 13700 acres (d) 14200 acres

20. Former Ameer of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Syed Munawar Hasan, passed away on \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) June 24 (b) June 26  
(c) June 27 (d) June 28

21. On June 28, veteran \_\_\_\_\_ politician and ex-provincial minister Haji Munawar Abbasi died.

- (a) Punjabi (b) Sindhi  
(c) Baloch (d) Pakhtoon

22. The Fourth Schedule is a list of proscribed individuals, who are suspected of terrorism and/or sectarianism, under the Anti-Terrorism Act, \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) 1976 (b) 1997  
(c) 2000 (d) 2002

23. On \_\_\_\_\_, the National Assembly passed the Finance Bill 2020, having a total outlay of Rs7,294.9 billion.

- (a) June 26 (b) June 27  
(c) June 28 (d) June 29

24. On June 30, Chairman Board of Investment, \_\_\_\_\_, reconstituted the CPEC Business Council.

- (a) Omar Khan (b) Fareena Mazhar  
(c) Naveed A Khan (d) Atif R. Bokhari

25. Major General Nigar Johar, who was promoted as Lieutenant General on June 30, belongs to \_\_\_\_\_ province.

- (a) Sindh (b) KP  
(c) Balochistan (d) Punjab

26. The first female officer of Pakistan Army to be promoted as a three-star officer is \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Shahida Badshah (b) Shahida Malik  
(c) Nigar Johar (d) Nudrat Zehra

27. On June 30, the Punjab government appointed Zahid Akhtar Zaman the additional chief secretary and \_\_\_\_\_ an additional inspector general (AIG) for the proposed South Punjab secretariat.

- (a) Inam Ghanji (b) Shafqat Roy



(c) Zulfiqar Hamid (d) Kamran Adil

28. On \_\_\_\_\_, the LHC dismissed from service the central character of judge video scandal, Arshad Malik.

- (a) June 30 (b) July 01  
(c) July 02 (d) July 03

29. On July 04, the government removed Nausheen Javed Amjad as FBR chairperson, and appointed \_\_\_\_\_ as temporary head of the organisation.

- (a) Shamshad Ahmad (b) Javed Ghani  
(c) Javid Hussain (d) Zulfi Bokhari

30. Former federal minister, and a PPP stalwart, Dr Ayatullah Durrani, passed away on \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) July 05 (b) July 06  
(c) July 07 (d) July 08

31. On July 06, Pakistan signed an agreement with China Gezhouba for Azad Pattan hydropower project that is located on River \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Sutlej (b) Chenab  
(c) Jhelum (d) Indus

32. A part of CPEC and with an investment of \$1.5 billion, Azad Pattan hydropower project will have the electricity-generation capacity of \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) 650.7MW (b) 700.7MW  
(c) 713.8MW (d) 1000 MW

33. On July 09, the Director-General National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA), \_\_\_\_\_, was removed from his post.

- (a) Munir Javed (b) Zulfiqar Ali  
(c) Ali Arshad (d) Usman Mubeen

34. On July 10, the Pakistan Post issued a commemorative postage stamp of denomination \_\_\_\_\_ to mark the World Population Day.

- (a) Rs2 (b) Rs5  
(c) Rs10 (d) Rs20

35. The Greater Thal Canal Project will irrigate the barren lands of Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhang, Muzaffargarh and \_\_\_\_\_ districts.

- (a) Khushab (b) Bahawalpur  
(c) Rajanpur (d) Bahwalnagar

36. On July 11, the KP government removed Ajmal Wazir as Information Adviser to Chief Minister, and replaced him with \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Muhib Ullah Khan  
(b) Taimur Saleem Jhagra

(c) Kamran Bangash  
(d) Shahram Khan

37. Pakistan has met the overarching Sustainable Development Goal no. \_\_\_\_\_, which calls for urgent actions to combat climate change and its impacts, 10 years ahead of the deadline.

- (a) 7 (b) 9  
(c) 13 (d) 15

38. On July 13, Pakistan and \_\_\_\_\_ signed an MoU on cooperation in water management and an amended convention for avoiding double taxation.

- (a) Belgium (b) Iceland  
(c) Germany (d) Hungary

39. On July 13, Pakistan Navy inducted in its fleet, the state of the art Corvette named \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) PNS Yarmook (b) PNS Himmat  
(c) PNS Tariq (d) PNS Dehshat

40. Prime Minister Imran Khan kicked off mega construction work on the Diamer-Bhasha dam on \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) July 11 (b) July 12  
(c) July 13 (d) July 15

## INTERNATIONAL

1. On June 16, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres removed a \_\_\_\_\_ led military coalition from a United Nations blacklist.

- (a) Saudi Arabia (b) Russia  
(c) Vietnam (d) US

2. On June 16, British Health Secretary Matt Hancock announced that Britain will immediately start giving \_\_\_\_\_ to coronavirus patients.

- (a) Remdesivir (b) Dexamethasone  
(c) Cepi (d) Recombinant

3. On June 16, Cricket \_\_\_\_\_ chief executive Kevin Roberts resigned.

- (a) New Zealand (b) Australia  
(c) South Africa (d) England

4. The International Energy Agency (IEA) is headquartered at \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Paris (b) Bonn  
(c) New York (d) Geneva

5. In USA, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) programme protects 700,000 people

who are referred to as \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Generation Z (b) Generation Y  
(c) Dreamers (d) None of these

6. On \_\_\_\_\_, Jean Kennedy Smith, the architect of peace in Northern Ireland, passed away.

- (a) June 16 (b) June 17  
(c) June 18 (d) June 19

7. Jean Kennedy Smith was the last surviving \_\_\_\_\_ of former US president, John F. Kennedy.

- (a) Daughter (b) Aunt  
(c) Sibling (d) None of these

8. The currency of Iran is \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Rial (b) Dinar  
(c) Pound (d) Dirham

9. The book "The Room Where It Happened," has been penned by \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Roger Stone (b) John Bolton  
(c) Mary L. Trump (d) Steve Benon

10. John Bolton is a former \_\_\_\_\_ of President Donald Trump.

- (a) Secretary of State  
(b) Secretary of Trade and Commerce  
(c) National Security Advisor  
(d) Secretary of Internal Security

11. On June 22, the UN Human Rights Council adopted a resolution ordering a "fact-finding mission" to \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Darfur (b) Libya  
(c) Iraq (d) Syria

12. On June 22, renowned \_\_\_\_\_ author Carlos Ruiz Zafón who is known for his bestselling novel "The Shadow of the Wind," died.

- (a) British (b) Colombian  
(c) Spanish (d) Mexican

13. On June 22, \_\_\_\_\_ President Aleksandar Vucic won a landslide victory in the parliamentary election.

- (a) Swiss (b) Serbian  
(c) Czech (d) Ukrainian

14. On June 23, \_\_\_\_\_ Fugaku supercomputer, built with





government backing and used in the fight against coronavirus, was ranked as the world's fastest.

- (a) Singapore's (b) Japan's  
(c) Taiwan's (d) Vietnam's

15. Alain-Guillaume Bunyoni is the prime minister of \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) France (b) Burundi  
(c) Indonesia (d) South Sudan

16. On June 24, \_\_\_\_\_ President Hashim Thaci was charged with 10 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity for his role in the country's conflict in the 1990s.

- (a) Kosovo's (b) Serbia's  
(c) Sweden's (d) Czech Republic's

17. On June 25, FIFA chose the bid of \_\_\_\_\_ and New Zealand to host the 2023 women's World Cup.

- (a) Australia (b) England  
(c) Japan (d) USA

18. On June 26, \_\_\_\_\_ were crowned Premier League champions, ending a 30-year wait for the English title.

- (a) Man. City (b) Liverpool  
(c) Man. United (d) Arsenal

19. On June 26, \_\_\_\_\_ quit a voluntary United Nations arrangement that aimed to protect hospitals and humanitarian aid deliveries in Syria from being hit by the warring parties.

- (a) USA (b) Russia  
(c) Turkey (d) France

20. On June 27, Micheal Martin was elected as \_\_\_\_\_ new prime minister.

- (a) Ireland's (b) Estonia's  
(c) Scotland's (d) Iceland's

21. Worldwide confirmed coronavirus infections hit the 10 million mark on \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) June 24 (b) June 26  
(c) June 28 (d) June 28

22. On June 29, a Paris court sentenced former French \_\_\_\_\_ Francois Fillon to five years in prison after finding him guilty of orchestrating a fake job for his wife.

- (a) President (b) Defence minister  
(c) Prime minister (d) Foreign minister

23. On June 29, \_\_\_\_\_ issued arrests warrants for US President Donald Trump and 35 others.

- (a) Lebanon (b) Indonesia  
(c) Palestine (d) Iran

24. On June 29, India's \_\_\_\_\_ became the youngest member of the ICC's elite umpire list.

- (a) Sukha Bose (b) Vijay Chopra  
(c) Nitin Menon (d) Salil Das

25. On \_\_\_\_\_, China promulgated its new national security law on Hong Kong.

- (a) June 30 (b) July 01  
(c) July 02 (d) July 04

26. On June 30, \_\_\_\_\_ Shashank Manohar stepped down as chairman of the ICC after four years in office.

- (a) Sri Lanka's (b) India's  
(c) UAE's (d) S. Africa's

27. On July 01, \_\_\_\_\_ took the helm of the EU's rotating presidency.

- (a) France (b) Belgium  
(c) Germany (d) Latvia

28. The only cricketer who scored centuries in five consecutive Test innings was \_\_\_\_\_.



- (a) Everton Weekes (b) Zaheer Abbas  
(c) Wasim H. Raja (d) Vivian Richards

29. On July 03, Abdul Rashid Dostum, a powerful Afghan warlord, was awarded the rank of \_\_\_\_\_, Afghanistan's highest military rank.

- (a) Field Marshal (b) General  
(c) Marshal (d) Salar

30. On July 03, \_\_\_\_\_ Air Force Command dropped a swastika logo from its unit emblem and replaced it with a neutral insignia featuring a golden eagle.

- (a) Finland's (b) Sweden's  
(c) Germany's (d) Denmark's

31. On July 06, \_\_\_\_\_ launched a new reconnaissance satellite named as 'Ofek 16'.

- (a) Israel (b) Iran  
(c) Turkey (d) Bangladesh

32. On \_\_\_\_\_, the US Supreme Court rejected the idea that electors, who

act on behalf of a state in the Electoral College vote, can exercise discretion in the candidate they back.

- (a) July 02 (b) July 04  
(c) July 06 (d) July 08

33. On July 06, Afghan President Ashraf Ghani appointed senior leader Mohammad Umer Daudzai his special representative for \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Russia (b) Pakistan  
(c) China (d) India

34. On July 07, the US announced to provide \$1.6 billion in funding for the development of a Covid-19 vaccine candidate produced by a Maryland-based biotech firm \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Gilead Sciences (b) Novavax  
(c) Ameridose (d) Pfizer

35. On \_\_\_\_\_, Turkish President Erdogan declared Istanbul's Hagia Sophia open to prayer as a mosque.

- (a) July 08 (b) July 09  
(c) July 10 (d) July 11

36. On July 12, the \_\_\_\_\_ Navy welcomed its first Black female Tactical Aircraft pilot, Lt. Madeline Swegle.

- (a) Canadian (b) US  
(c) French (d) Royal

37. On \_\_\_\_\_, the Iranian government kicked India out of the rail line project from the Chabahar port to Zahedan.

- (a) July 11 (b) July 12  
(c) July 14 (d) July 15

38. On July 14, \_\_\_\_\_ ordered the phased removal of Chinese telecoms giant Huawei from its 5G network.

- (a) USA (b) Canada  
(c) Britain (d) Mexico

39. On July 15, a European court annulled an EU order that \_\_\_\_\_ repay Ireland 13 billion euros (\$15 billion) in back taxes.

- (a) Facebook (b) Google  
(c) Amazon (d) Apple

40. The Committee to Protect Journalists announced to honour \_\_\_\_\_ with this year's the Gwen Ifill Award.

- (a) Amal Clooney  
(b) Mir Shakil-ur-rehman  
(c) Mohammad Mosaed  
(d) Dapo Olorunyomi



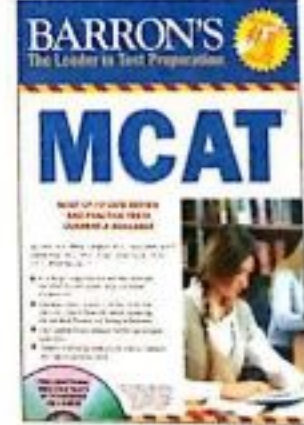
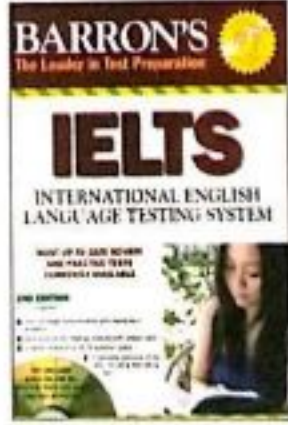
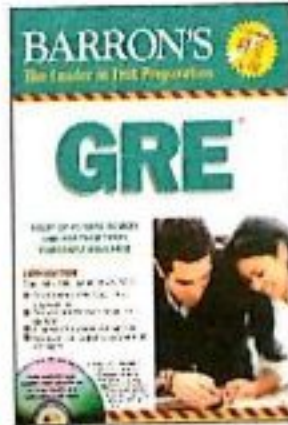
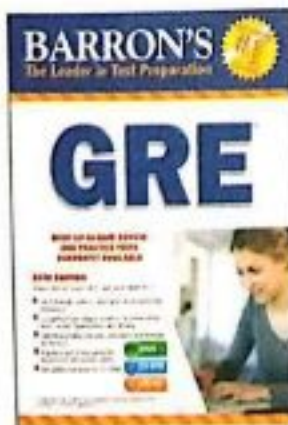
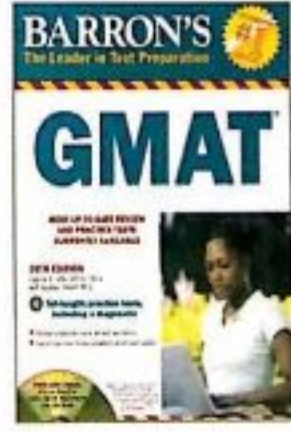
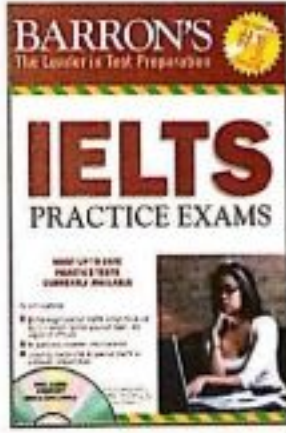
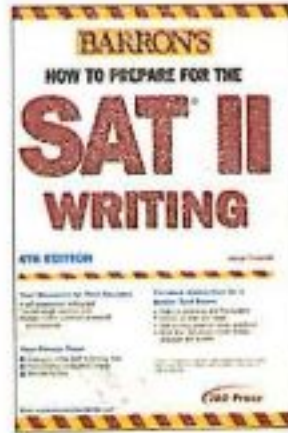
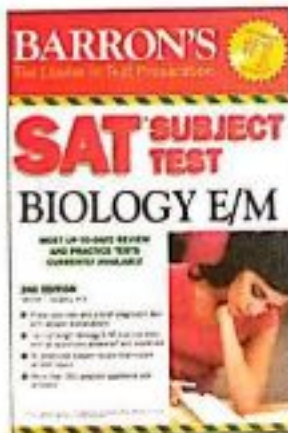
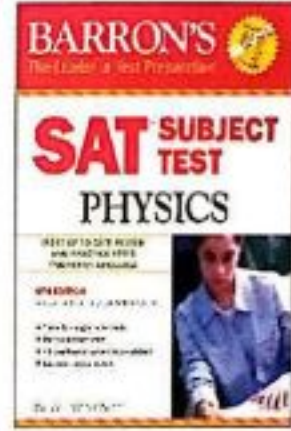
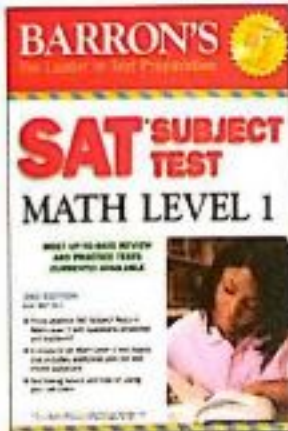
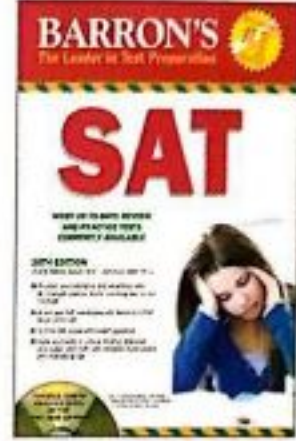
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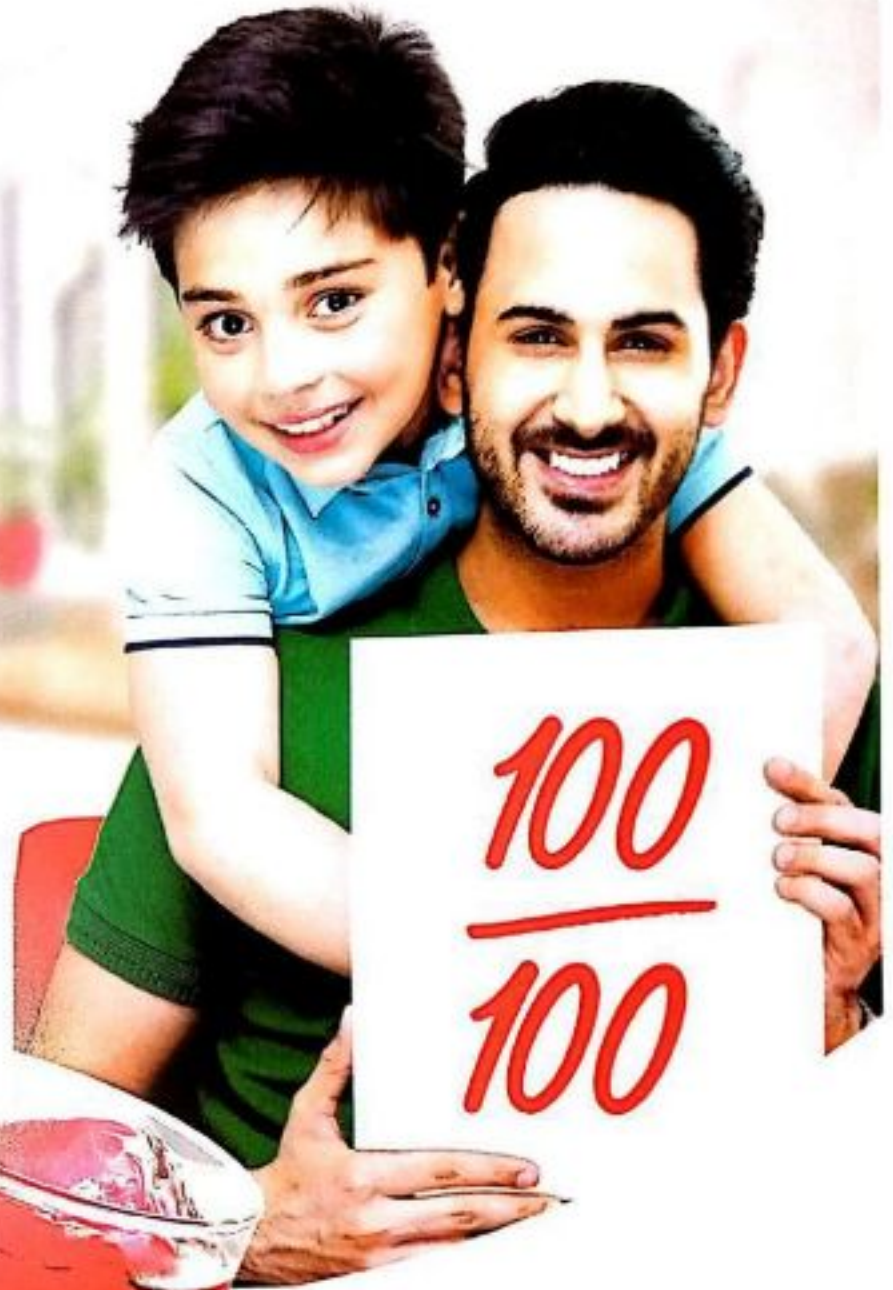




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